

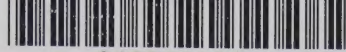




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MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL :


Its Origin, History and
Present Surroundings

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MERCHANT TAYLORS'
SCHOOL: Its Origin, History
and Present Surroundings

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INTRODUCTION

THE Merchant 'Taylors' School Archæological Society lately discovered that nearly a hundred years had passed since the last history of the School was written. Many things worthy of permanent record have happened since then; and, moreover, Mr. Wilson's book, published in 1812, is in two large volumes and difficult to obtain. It seemed to the Society that there was a need for a book which would set forth the whole history of the School within a more convenient compass and which could be made easily available for past and present members of the School. They accordingly set themselves to supply the need; and it further occurred to them that the book would be made more complete and possibly more attractive if it contained also a brief account of the origins of the Merchant 'Taylors' Company, a description of life in the City at the date of the foundation of the School, and also a survey of the principal ancient monuments and places of interest in the immediate neighbourhood of the School. This volume, which has been more than two years in preparation, is the result.

It may seem impertinence in a School Society to aspire to authorship; and there is much for which we would wish to apologize. The book bears upon it clear signs of its composite origin; its contributors are qualified more by devotion to their School and enthusiasm for history than by experience in research or maturity of judgment; and the chapters had to be written under the stress of many competing claims upon their authors' time. Yet the Society feels that the work has been worth while; there is

INTRODUCTION

something to tell the present generation which they do not all of them know, but which they all of them would wish to know, and a School as ancient as ours is not complete without its history.

The Society as a whole takes responsibility for the book; the individual contributors are R. H. Adams (Ch. I), T. B. F. Thomson (Ch. II), W. C. Farr (Ch. III), E. I. Goulding (Ch. IV), J. M. Plumley (Ch. V), A. J. Taylor (Ch. VI) and C. H. Roberts (Ch. VII). The heavy burden of editing the book and seeing it through the press has been undertaken by W. C. Farr. The illustrations are the work of P. H. Biddlecombe.

The authors owe so much to so many people, living and dead, that it is difficult for them to record all their debts. The chapters on the Company, the Charterhouse, St. John's Priory of Clerkenwell and St. Etheldreda's Chapel have drawn largely upon standard works such as that of the late Mr. Clode and the late Master of the Charterhouse and the publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. The chapter on the School has been greatly enriched by the reminiscences of some distinguished O.M.T.'s still living, who knew the School in the Suffolk Lane days and the period immediately following the transfer to Charterhouse Square. Other friends of the School have read parts of the book in proof and their suggestions have greatly improved it. We wish to make public acknowledgment here of the debt the book owes to all these.

We have preferred not to insert any dedication. It is clear enough for whose benefit the book has been written; indeed it will have failed in its purpose if it does not proclaim its dedication on every page.

November, 1929

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' COMPANY

THE Company is a Gild. The name 'Gild' was applied in early days to a festival or feast, at which men gathered for some special purpose; later, the word came to mean the society who assembled at the feast. The earliest of these gilds, which were mainly religious, existed in Saxon times: in some ways they resembled modern benefit clubs, for their funds were expended in feasts and charity.

As villages grew into market towns, generally at a period shortly after the Norman Conquest, more craftsmen necessarily appeared. Associations known as Merchant Gilds, which controlled every trade within the town, provided officials to see that all dealings were fair. Craftsmen in the town who joined the Gild gained the benefit of the monopoly of a certain article, which was expressly denied to non-members. Free competition between individual manufacturers and merchants was alien to the mind of the Middle Ages. Men worked in groups or corporations.

The further progress of wealth, population, and the useful arts very soon rendered it impossible in London, as in the other greater towns, for the officers of the merchant gild to supervise adequately every trade within the town; consequently there followed a sub-division of the general community of craftsmen into a number of associations or gilds governing special trades in every town; thus the friction which was bound to arise between members of

the merchant gild and craftsmen was removed. These new gilds were organized on the principle of their predecessors and bore the names of particular trades or crafts, such as weavers, tailors, goldsmiths, skinners, and wheelwrights.

Good work was demanded of all members and searchers were appointed by the gilds of various trades to check dishonesty. Fines were imposed as a punishment upon members whose conduct was unsatisfactory, and all such fines were strictly enforced. But apart from the supervision of a craftsman's work, the privileges of membership included benefits for old age and sickness as well as pensions for widows, while contributions were made towards the cost of burials. The gilds were enabled to confer such benefits by means of gifts and the benevolence of wealthy members who founded almshouses or left large sums of money. Apprentices were admitted to the gilds only on payment of large admission fees to prevent overcrowding of the craft. New members were not admitted till evidence had been given that they had sufficient skill and had served the long apprenticeship of seven years. Both rich masters and poor journeymen were included in the gilds; in this respect they were different from modern trade unions which are confined to workmen.

The aldermen in the gild were the senior members who had experience of the world generally and of the ways of the City of London particularly and who were qualified for the impartial dispensation of justice. In the earliest times no one was accepted as an alderman 'unless he was free from deformity in body, wise and discreet in mind, rich, honest and free.'

These gilds in London were called Livery Companies from the peculiar dress or garb which each body appropriated to its own use. Of these gilds or livery

companies, the most important to us is 'The Gild of the Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist.'

This Gild was originally one of these religious and social brotherhoods—The Gild of Taylors and Linen Armourers of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist of the City of London. It existed as early as the thirteenth century.

The tailor and draper at this time were closely allied as contributing to the making of wearing apparel but they were not members of the same brotherhood. The Linen Armourers, however, joined themselves with the Taylors, who in actual fact were cutters out and makers of clothes. This was a working gild and continued so until the time of James I. The ancient London Taylors made both men's and women's apparel, also the surcoats of soldiers as well as the padded lining of armour—gambesons as they were called—and probably also the trappings of war-horses. From the very beginning the religious and social privileges of the gild were not limited to the craftsmen, but hospitality was extended to persons of all classes.

Before 1387 the head of the Gild was called the Pilgrim, perhaps because he travelled for the whole company or more probably because one of his duties was to make a pilgrimage on behalf of the whole fraternity to some holy shrine, possibly that of St. Thomas à Becket. In 1298 the Master of the Company made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, not to the shrine of St. Thomas, but to represent the Company at the enthronement of St. Thomas' latest successor. John Stow, a tailor and a member of the Company, tells us in his *Survey of London* that Edward I 'confirmed' the gild in 1299-1300 by the name of 'Taylors and Linen Armourers.' When this charter was granted, Henry de Ryall was elected their first

Pilgrim; the Pilgrim later developed into the Master, while the Wardens were formerly 'Purveyors of Alms.'

The Company increased in power so much during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the great days of the clothing trade, that its control extended not only over its own craftsmen, but even over men of other trades, who had joined the gild as a religious fraternity. After the first licence granted by Edward I, five important charters were given. The first, that of Edward III, granted monopoly over the trade. In 1390 his grandson Richard II, brought into legal existence the Master and four Wardens. Henry IV, in 1407, granted them a further charter by the name of 'Master and Wardens of the Fraternity of Saint John the Baptist in London.' Thirty years later, Henry VI gave them the right of search and correction of abuses. Finally Edward IV confirmed these charters and granted them their armorial bearings. Clarencieux, King of Arms for the south part of England, granted patents to the gild of Taylors and Linen Armourers of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist to bear in 'a field silver, a pavilion between two mantels imperial purple garnished with gold, in a chief azure and Holy Lamb, set within a sun, the crest upon the helm.' These arms were also represented in the stained glass windows formerly in the Church of St. Martin Outwich. They differ from the present arms which were granted in 1586, the latter having a lion instead of the Holy Lamb which is now their crest. The armorial bearings of the Merchant Taylors' Company in full heraldic terms are at the present time—Argent, a tent royal between two parliament robes gules; lined ermine, in a chief azure, a lion of England. Crest—a Lamb in glory proper. Supporters—two camels, or. Motto: 'Concordia parvae res crescunt.' An entirely new charter was granted the Company by Henry VII in 1503;

he transformed them from 'Taylors and Linen Armourers' to 'Merchant Taylors.' This is their present acting charter which afterwards received the confirmation of five Sovereigns, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.

A stanza of a ballad, written on the occasion of the entertainment of James I by the Company may well be quoted here. It is called 'A Delightful Song of the Four Famous Feasts of England,' one of them ordained by King Henry VII to the honour of Merchant Taylors; showing how seven kings have been free of that Company and how lastly it was graced with the renowned Henry of Great Britain.

'Their Charter was his Princely Gift,
Maintained to this day;
He added Merchant to the Name,
Of Taylors, as some say.
So Merchant Taylors they be called,
His Royal Love was so,
No London Company the like
Estate of Kings can show.'

Members of the Gild by this time had finally ceased to be craftsmen and were now trading merchants, who carried on business in all quarters of the globe.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century there existed together with the Merchant Company, an inferior and secondary association, known as the Bachelors' Company, which originated in the following manner. The workmen of the Company were compelled to be housed together; they were banded together in a place of evil repute and existed as Bachelor or Yeoman Taylors, claiming to be a separate craft. After many disputes it eventually came under the control of the Merchant Company. The records of the Bachelors' Company are not extant, and it is impossible to form any exact idea of

the connection between the two companies. It far exceeded its superior Company in number, and was governed by its own Master and Wardens. Poor Taylors became members of the Bachelors' Company; thus it became the channel through which working men were supplied with alms, and consequently was the Almoner of the Merchant Company. They derived their income from benefactions made to them, fines from their members and annual donations from the major Company. After numerous disagreements and vacillations, at the end of the seventeenth century the superior Company took charge of their business, when the separate organization of the Bachelors' Company finally ceased to exist. By this time, however, the Company no longer exercised its trade privileges and was gradually developing its present functions as an association entirely dedicated to hospitality, charity and education.

Three events in the early annals of the Company are particularly worth noting. In 1484 we find the Merchant Taylors and Skinners disputing for precedence. The Lord Mayor, whose name was Billesden, settled the dispute effectively. He decided that they should take precedence alternately, and made the most wise decree that each Company should dine in the Hall of the other yearly, on the vigil of Corpus Christi and on the Feast of St. John the Baptist. Concord was quickly restored and the custom is still regularly observed at the present time. There is a fine panel in the Royal Exchange illustrating the reconciliation scene. The dinners were kept up, though on a very modest scale, even during the war, when all other City functions were suspended.

The next great event—greatest of all for us—was the foundation in 1561 under the inspiration of Richard Hilles, of 'the Company's Grammar School'; and, later,



SUFFOLK LANE, EXTERIOR

Sir Thomas White, another Past Master, completed Hilles' work by the foundation of St. John's College, Oxford, which has always been closely connected with the School.

The third notable year in the Company's early history was 1607 when James I and his son, Prince Henry, dined at the Hall. Some attempt to describe the exceeding magnificence of this feast will be made in a later section of this chapter, when we come to describe the Hall.

The year of this grand banquet may be regarded as a turning point in the history of the Companies in general. It was a difficult time for them. A great outcry was raised at the end of Elizabeth's reign against monopolies and patents. During the interregnum the Companies endeavoured to find means of composing their internal troubles; attempts were made to strengthen the control of the lesser Companies over their respective Crafts, and our own Company succeeded, as we have seen, in suppressing the ambitions of the Yeoman Company. But besides these dangerous internal difficulties, the Government tried to exact forced loans from them. Queen Elizabeth had tried the expedient of a lottery, upon which the following entry was made in the minute book:

'Oun byrde in the hand is worth two in the wood,
If we gain the great lot, it will do us no good.'

But at the time of the Civil War these forced loans could not be avoided; the Company was assessed at £5,000, their supposed capacity, which represents a much larger sum to-day. Expenses for feasting and celebrations had to be cut down, yet these loans were never repaid. Then came the Great Fire; and besides its own losses the Company had to pay heavily towards the cost of rebuilding other parts of the City.

Here we may pause to notice a few of the more

eminent figures in the early history of the Company. First comes Sir Oliver Ingham, Knight, from whom the Company appears to have acquired the premises in which they built their Hall. He was all his life the trusty and valiant servant of Edward II, and was one of the guardians of the young King Edward III on his succession to the throne. His activities were continued, after good service in England, in the maintenance of the King's authority abroad. After his acquittal on a charge of treason, he was again in 1331 sent to Aquitaine, when his occupation of the future Merchant Taylors' Hall came to an end. Then follows Sir John Hawkwood, the great leader of the Italian *condottieri*, who fought for the Dukes of Milan and was buried with honour at Florence, where a fresco to his memory may still be seen in the cathedral. The first Taylor to become Lord Mayor, was Sir John Percyvale, a native of Macclesfield, where later he founded a grammar school. He was elected Lord Mayor in 1498. Close after him came Sir Stephen Jenyns, Lord Mayor in 1508. His native town was Wolverhampton, where he too founded a grammar school early in the reign of Henry VIII, 'for instructing boys in good morals and literature.' It is interesting to see how the mantle of the pious founder is passing at the end of the fifteenth century from the great ecclesiastic to the great business man. No bishop was concerned in the founding of our School, though many have come from it.

Sir William Fitzwilliam was responsible for the changes that were made in the constitution of the Gild by the charter of Henry VII. Our knowledge of this Master of the Company is far less than we should desire. He was elected Sheriff of the City in 1506 and his tenure of this office is marred by much disaffection shown towards him for he was always considered an unwelcome

intruder. He was later made Lord High Admiral to Henry VIII and Earl of Southampton.

Next came two for whom we are especially bound to pray—Richard Hilles, who was Master from 1561-2, the year of our birth, and Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor in 1555, and the founder of St. John's College, Oxford. They were not the founders of the School; the founders of the School were the Master, Wardens and Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors. But they stand together, the one as Master and the other as an influential Past Master in the years of our foundation and between them they represent our debt.

The memory of Richard Hilles has till lately been sadly neglected; records of his share in the foundation of the School are brief and inglorious. He was born in the City, probably in 1514, and after a good education was apprenticed to a cloth worker; he was admitted freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1535. The religious troubles sent him into exile in 1540 and he did not return till 1549. Here we must leave Hilles, whose Mastership is so closely connected with the School that to describe it would trespass too far on the chapter devoted to its history. He lived to see the time when harmony was established between his School and its sister foundation at Oxford, and died in 1588, a great benefactor and friend.

Sir Thomas White, his contemporary, is renowned not only for his foundation of St. John's College, Oxford, but also for conspicuous service to the Tudor monarchs. He was educated at Reading, and apprenticed to the Company in 1504 and gained early success. He traded in cloth, but was more than a merchant; he was a financier, and made two notable loans to Coventry and Bristol. He served the office of Master in 1535 and quickly rose

in favour with Queen Mary. As Lord Mayor in 1553-4 he helped to quell Wyatt's rebellion and directed the defence of the Bridge Gate in Southwark on January 3rd of that year. Two years later he founded his College; a copy of the beautiful letter he wrote on his death-bed to the President and Fellows of the College, is still presented to every newly-elected scholar.

A good summary of his life and work is to be found inscribed on his portrait in the Court Room at the Hall. The Latin version in hexameters runs as follows; and an English version is added.

*'Cernitur hic Thomas Whiteus sub imagine picta
Cernitur hic vita melius sub imagine vera
Et Pater et Praetor Londinis Miles in illa
Providus Oxonia Fautor Fundator in illa
Bristolii decus eximium laus summa Redingae,
Gloria Tunbrigiae tibi causa, Coventria, famae
Urbis honos, Orbis Prudentia, Gemma Senectae.'*

*'Behold portrayed above is Thomas White,
Great London's Mayor and Father, honour'd Knight,
Art held the brush, but Truth the hand did guide;
Read here his life; 'twas letter'd Oxon's pride,
Bristol's bright lustre, Reading's highest fame,
Tonbridge's glory, Coventry's fair name;
In City roll his name in honour writ,
The Jewel of ripe age, the wide world's wit.'*

Another great Founder was Sir William Harper, the colleague of White and Hilles. He filled the office of Master in 1553 and was elected Lord Mayor in 1561. This charitable Master is specially worthy of fame in the Company's history as the founder of Bedford Grammar School.

It is curious that none of these eminent members of the Company save Richard Hilles were citizens of London by birth. They all came to the City as lads from the

country to serve apprenticeship to the Gild, and to it they finally devoted their whole lives.

Many famous men have served their apprenticeship since White and Hilles and Harper, and many Masters have reigned in Threadneedle Street. We may truly say that the welfare of the School has been the first care of all of them; and for our purposes the history of the Company from this time forward blends with the history of the School. But before we pass on to that a few pages should be devoted to a description of the Hall, which is still the headquarters of the Company and where the business of the School is still transacted.

'This Merchants Taylors' Hall, some time pertaining to a worshipful gentleman named Edmond Creping (Dominus Creping after some record), he, in the year of Christ 1331, the sixt [*sic*] of Edward III for a certain sum of money to him paid, made his grant thereof by the name of his principal messuage in the wards of Cornehill and Brode Street, which Oliver Ingham, Knight, did then hold to John of Yakeley, the King's Pavilion maker. This was called the new hall or 'Tailors' Inn, for a difference from their old hall, which was about the backside of the Red Lion in Basing Lane, and in the Ward of Cordwayner Street.' Such is the concise description given by Stow of the history of the Hall.

We learn that the site was purchased in 1331 in the names of trustees; no exact date can be fixed for the building of the present Hall, but it is known that by the year 1392 it was already known as 'Taillours halle.' An executor of the Outwich family left the Company the advowson of St. Martin Outwich (since destroyed) and seventeen shops. Seven almshouses were built in the reign of Henry IV between the church and the hall. Both almshouses and hall are shown in the ancient plan

of St. Martin Outwich. The hall as there depicted was a lofty building well lighted by three tiers of windows and had a high pitched roof. There is an arched entrance gate. A lantern with a vane surmounts the lofty pointed roof. The almshouses mentioned above separated the hall from a second large building adjoining the church, which may have been an additional hall or chapel. It is sometimes forgotten that when this hall and its buildings were first erected, there was no Bank of England, no Royal Exchange, no Guildhall and no Mansion House around; these are all of later date. London must be thought of as a small city surrounded by walls, such as York or Lancaster.

We are supplied with further information as to the size of the hall by Smith, Citizen and Haberdasher, who writes that it is 'Of stone and of such byggenes that it passeth all the halles in London for beauty and comlyness.' Records state that in 1620 the Hall was wain-scotted instead of whitewashed, and that in 1646 it was paved with red tiles, rushes and earthen floors having 'been found inconvenient, and oftentimes noisome.' In 1666 the Great Fire of London damaged the roof beyond repair, and the interior was so gutted that the walls and foundations were all that remained.

The present Hall is an accurate representation of the hall of the fourteenth century. 'Such a hall had a dais or raised platform at one end, on which the high table was placed lengthwise. In the centre was the seat of the lord, sometimes raised again in a separate chair. At one end of the dais stood the "buffet," on which the plate was displayed and opposite were two doorways, one leading to the cellars, the other to the staircase leading to the saloon or principal chambers. At the end of the hall opposite to the dais was the screen, with its minstrel gallery over it, and under the gallery was a passage

through with a door at each end. In the wall behind the screen there were three doors—to the kitchen down a short flight of steps, to the buttery and pantry or servants' apartments.' Parker's description corresponds remarkably well with the present Hall.

The present Hall is the largest of the Livery Companies' halls, the length being eighty-two feet, while height and width are alike forty-three feet. There is at the east end a handsome oak screen of the Corinthian order, erected in 1672. The oriel at the north-west end was the 'buffet,' and opposite this were formerly a large bay window and a door looking into the garden. The sternboard of the Gild's barge, carved with the Company's arms, now hangs on the wall above the oriel. It was formerly the custom when the new Lord Mayor was elected, to go by barge in procession to Westminster.

The original floor still in existence, lies two feet six inches below the present floor. After the Great Fire the level of Threadneedle Street was raised; hence it was found desirable still to maintain the level of the floor above that of the street. The present windows were inserted in 1793 in place of the double tier on both north and south walls and are painted with armorial bearings. Tapestries depicting scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist formerly adorned the wall; they were made for the Company in the early part of the sixteenth century, but after being mutilated by the Puritans they were finally sold in 1730 for twenty pounds. From the ceiling once hung silk flags and streamers; the Hall itself was furnished when necessary with tables on trestles, covered on feast days with splendid table linen and glittering plate. Behind the Master's chair on the dais is a panel with the names of various Sovereigns, commencing with Edward III and ending with George V, and other royal personages who have been Freemen of the Gild.

This Hall has been the scene of many fine banquets. Henry VII is said to have dined here in 1506. June 7, 1607, was one of the grandest days the Company has ever known; for James I and his son Prince Henry dined with the Merchant Taylors. Ben Jonson composed an entertainment and Dr. John Bull conducted the music. Doubtful tradition tells us that it was here that the National Anthem was sung for the first time.

The King and the Prince dined separately for this was demanded by royal etiquette. A hole was cut in the wall of the hall to enable him to view the scene of the feast. The Master presented the King with a purse of one hundred pounds.

'Richard Langley showed him a role wherein was registered the names of seaven kinges, one queene, seventeene Princes, two dutchesses, one archbishoppe, one and thirty earles, five countesses, one viscount, fourteen byshoppes, sixtie and sixe barons, two ladies, seaven abots, seaven priors, and one sub-prior, omitting a great number of Knights, Esquires, etc., who had been free of that Companie.'

The Prince was then made a Freeman, and put on the garland.

'In the ayr between them,' [i e., suspended above their heads] 'was a gallant shippe, triumphant, wherein was theer menne like saylers, being eminent for voyce and skill, who in their severall songes were assisted and seconded by the cunning lutanists. There was also in the Hall the musique of that Cittie, and in the Upper Chamber the children of His Majesty's Chapell, sang grace at the King's Table; and also while the King sate at dinner John Bull, Doctor of Musique, one of the organists of His Majesty's Chapell Royall, being in a citizen's cap and gowne, cappe and hood' [as a Liveryman] 'played most excellent melodie uponn a small organ, placed there for that purpose only.'

James seems at this time to have scarcely recovered from the Gunpowder Plot, for the entries in the Com-

pany's books show that there was a great searching of rooms and inspection of walls 'to prevent villanie and danger to His Majestie.' The cost of this feast was more than £1,000.

The Hall has been lent for many notable banquets since, and before that time the Lord Mayor's Feast was held here until 1502. Since 1676 the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy have held their annual dinners in it, while the Grand Lodge of Freemasons frequently made it their meeting place before the foundation of their own hall. It was customary at the beginning of the sixteenth century for members of Parliament to dine here before returning to their homes at the end of the session. In 1814 the hall was the scene of a grand banquet given by the Merchants and Bankers of London to Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, and Frederick William III, King of Prussia, on their first visit to England.

A very notable banquet was held in this Hall in 1802—on May 28—the anniversary of the birth of the younger Pitt and attended by a great number of his ardent supporters. The current number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* tells us that 904 persons sat down to dinner, of whom 505 were accommodated in the Hall itself, the remainder dining in the adjoining rooms. A fine portrait of Pitt hangs in the Parlour.

The buildings at the east end of the Hall comprised the domestic chapel of the Gild, its crypt and the great kitchen which were probably those of the old mansion of Sir Oliver de Ingham. The chapel itself has now disappeared and all that remains of it is part of the ancient crypt, built about the end of the fourteenth century, and well worth a visit. The 'great kitchen' was erected about 1425, and the building accounts, still in existence, are of great interest. We know that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V, and a

member of the Gild, subscribed towards the cost of the building. The premises at the west end of the Hall were erected in 1682, and comprise the drawing room or 'King's Chamber'—the 'Great Parlour'—or Court Dining Room, and the Grand Staircase. The panelling in the Great Parlour dates from 1683. The other rooms above and the Grand Staircase were panelled and wainscotted in deal about the year 1730. In 1881 the King's Chamber was re-decorated and costly silk wall hangings conceal the panelling.

The garden is beautifully laid out, with a fountain copied by Gilbert Bayes from an early seventeenth century Florentine model in the South Kensington Museum. Two leaden water tanks, engraven with the Company's arms, now stand in the garden; they were formerly kept in the kitchen for the purpose of holding water after the supply was cut off at night. Before the erection of the new buildings the garden was larger; it contained room for walks, flower-beds, and even a bowling green; it was well cared for and sufficiently private to induce the East India Company to solicit that the Lord Ambassador of Persia might have 'the liberty of walking therein for his recreation.'

Of the pictures and other works of art in the Hall we may mention the portrait of James II by Sir Godfrey Kneller, presented to the Company by the King himself; a portrait of Henry VIII with a scroll; and two embroidered palls or hearse cloths in the Gallery, depicting scenes illustrative of the life and death of St. John the Baptist. They were used at the burial of a Brother of the Gild and were specially made for the Company. The earlier cloth is dated 1490 to 1512 and the latter 1520 to 1530. In the Parlour is a portrait of Charles I, by a painter unknown, presented in 1672. At the time of the Commonwealth all the portraits of Charles I were

ordered to be destroyed; this included one in the Company's possession before 1650. It is just possible that this very picture was secreted and not destroyed, as was the case with the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross. In the Court Room is a portrait of Sir Thomas White. John Vernon, Master in 1609, presented his own portrait to the Company 'that it might hang in some corner of the parlour to the end that his faythful true love borne to the Company might be had in remembrance.' The Company still annually observe the anniversary of his burial at St. Michael's, Cornhill.

The Company was at one time very rich in silver plate, but during the Parliamentary Wars was forced to melt down most of it to provide money for the King. There now remain only two Tudor rose-water dishes, the Master's mace and a silver cloth-yard; this latter was used for the 'searching and measuring of cloth' and weighs thirty-six ounces; it is engraven with the Company's arms and Henry VII's cypher.

It has been well said by one writer that 'amidst all the pomps and vanities of the City Feasts, there was much of excellence and significance and notwithstanding the many improvements of our own time, we may still learn many things from a study of the customs and ceremonies of the decorous and dignified, charitable and jovial, citizens of olden time.' The Court of Assistants no longer search and measure cloth; they no longer wrangle with Skinners and Bachelors for precedence. But they still dispense a princely hospitality; they still administer scores of trusts for the relief of sickness and poverty; and they still nourish a great School.

CHAPTER II

THE CITY IN THE YEAR 1561

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL was founded in the City of London in the year 1561: what sort of a place was the City in that year? It was a time of much change and development. The recent discovery of the New World coupled with the Revival of Learning had everywhere aroused men's curiosity, and London in particular was affected. In the Tudor period London ceased to be a mediaeval city and developed into a modern one. The social history of the time is sordid and disappointing: but this disappointment is soon forgotten when the commercial expansion of the sixteenth century is considered. It is true, we read of the quarrels of King Henry VIII with the Pope and the Church of Rome culminating in the suppression of the monasteries which brought ruin and poverty to thousands and rendered hopeless the plight of the poor. Many of the architectural glories of London were wantonly destroyed. The City was overcrowded and its streets were irregular, narrow and dirty. The law was harsh and badly administered. No effective steps were taken by the King to remedy this bad state of affairs. Yet in spite of this widespread distress the Tudor age was an age of expansion and development for London. It was an age of peace: there were no really important wars or battles fought for over one hundred years. During that time the City's trade was developed, and, largely as a result of the activities of Sir Thomas Gresham, London succeeded Antwerp as the leading commercial city of the

world, a position which she has continued to hold to this day.

The later part of the Tudor Period was in many ways an era of vandalism. King Henry VIII attacked the monks because they continued to recognize the Pope as the head of the Church in spite of his decrees to the contrary, and in the years 1536 to 1539 various laws were passed to suppress first the smaller houses and later the large monasteries. The King seized the land and money for his own use and ruthlessly destroyed the buildings. In London all the monastic churches but one were swept away, and shops and tenements were erected where they had stood. The exception was the Church of the Austin Friars which was given to Protestant refugees from the Continent. Since then, right down to the present time it has been the recognized place of worship of the Dutch residents of London. It now stands hidden away amongst banks and office buildings in Old Broad Street. The walls and columns of the church stand undamaged, but the nave has been spoilt by fire. St. Mary's Spital, a hospital at Bishopsgate, was pulled down and built over, in spite of entreaties made to the King to keep it open as a hostel for the poor. The Church of the Dominicans or Black Friars was destroyed. Most of the Church of St. Bartholomew's Priory was pulled down: only the choir was left standing, and this was converted into a parish church. This period witnessed almost as much desecration as did the time of Cromwell. The Duke of Somerset who was appointed Protector in the reign of Edward VI determined to abolish all forms of papist "superstitions." Under his rule the London churches were shamefully pillaged. Altars which he deemed idolatrous were destroyed, stained-glass windows were broken, sacred pictures were removed, wall-paintings were obliterated and scores of valuable and beautifully

illuminated volumes were burnt. When Somerset had finished his work, only a shadow of the Church's former grandeur remained. So thorough was the work that in a short time all memories of the former splendour of the churches and all traditions of the ancient faith had departed; and the City, full of new hopes of wealth, seems to have made no protest. Puritan feeling was always strong there.

This period is marked by a great change in atmosphere. Down to the reign of Henry VIII it was Merrie England. Balls and masques were frequent, and the feeling which inspired the pomp and the gay processions at the Court had spread amongst the Londoners. But this spirit was soon replaced by one of cruelty and harshness. At the end of the reign of Henry VIII and during the next few reigns it was a common sight to see the heads of traitors impaled on London Bridge. Burnings at the stake were frequent in Smithfield, and the Tower was filled with unfortunate captives. The poor people were oppressed by the harsh legislation as much as the rich. The pillory was the least punishment offenders could expect, and defaulters of all kinds were thus chastised. Forgers when detected were whipped up and down the street; dishonest tradesmen were paraded through the town in carts. The most barbarous part of the system was the disproportionate severity of the punishment; criminals were hanged for small offences such as petty theft. The reason for this was the weakness of the authorities and the ludicrous incompetence of the police of those days. There had been no increase in the numbers of the police to correspond with the increase in the City population, and few criminals were detected or captured. When an offender was caught, the magistrates made an example of him as a deterrent to others. It was believed that a man would think twice about stealing if he knew that

he would be liable to execution. But this system proved a failure. No number of executions could deter criminals who knew that the possibility of detection was very remote. Yet no attempt was made to strengthen the police for close upon three hundred years; with the establishment of a trained police force under Sir Robert Peel came the relaxation of the penal code.

The dissolution of the monasteries in the years 1536 to 1539 increased the hardships of the lower classes. Not only were the poor deprived of much needed charitable attention, but vast numbers of officials connected with the work of the monasteries were made homeless. The cornlands of the abbeys were turned into pasture and the labourers who had been employed on them were dismissed. There was a great increase in the number of beggars who roamed the countryside, miserable, homeless and starving—

‘Hark, hark, the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town.’

They robbed lonely farmhouses and villages, and were a constant source of terror to all respectable people. Many came to London thinking that they would be able to find work and shelter there, but they could not all be accommodated within the City walls.

Indeed there was little enough room for the lawful inhabitants. The streets were both narrow and dirty and without pavements. The houses contained two or more stories, the upper story overhanging the lower to give shade from the sun. Elaborate gablework and carving were a distinguishing mark of Tudor houses. A gabled front dating from the year 1600 still adorns the front of Staple Inn in Holborn and is typical of the style of building of this period. The gardens and open spaces which abounded in the City were built over to accommo-

date the increasing population. Various suburbs also sprang up outside the walls. So overcrowded did London become that a royal edict was made prohibiting the erection of new buildings within three miles of the City walls and the over-crowding of already existing houses. This law could not always be enforced, and the crowding of the streets coupled with the lack of sanitation was the cause of much pestilence and disease. The London hospitals had been either closed or ruined, and the poor could not secure the medical attention which they required. King Henry VIII and his successors did nothing to remedy their plight, and the independent efforts of kindly-disposed rich citizens were insufficient to alleviate such wide-spread distress.

The bad condition of the roads and the winding of the streets made travel by road in the City most inconvenient. It was therefore the custom to make short journeys to London by water. Accordingly the River Thames was a great highway. The Queen, the Lord Mayor and others of high rank had their own state barges, as also had the Merchant Taylors' Company; for the general public there were wherries which plied regularly from the City landing places. Stow records that there were two thousand boats and three thousand watermen on the river.

London streets were narrow and irregular, insanitary and unclean. But the view of the City from the River Thames must have been impressive. There were over a hundred parish churches and so many spires and towers in such a small area could not fail to make an enchanting picture. Even two hundred and fifty years later, as Wordsworth bears witness, the view was a beautiful one. Rowing down the river from Westminster one first saw the Temple Church, the same in appearance as it is to-day. Beyond the point where the Fleet Ditch slowly emptied



SUFFOLK LANE, INTERIOR

its waters into the Thames, the scene would be dominated by St. Paul's Cathedral, with its tower over three hundred feet high. Then came the ruined Priory Church of the Dominicans or Black Friars, where there stood the only theatre then in existence in the City; the famous Globe of Southwark was not erected until 1593. Next came a number of wharves, Paul's Wharf, Queenhythe, the Steelyard, the head-quarters of the foreign merchants, and 'Three Cranes' where ships unloaded their cargoes of Bordeaux wines. Afterwards a well-known brewhouse, the 'Old Swan,' and then London Bridge, an imposing stone structure dating from the thirteenth century. It was famous; Stow describes it as 'a work very rare' and adds that houses were built upon both sides so that it seemed 'rather a continual street than a bridge.' It was 926 feet long and 40 wide. There were nineteen arches of irregular shapes, and in the centre stood a chapel dedicated to Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The many piers, however, caused an accumulation of rubbish which formed strong currents and made navigation under the bridge most dangerous. Until the opening of Westminster Bridge in 1750 this was the only bridge across the river in London. Next came Billingsgate which then as now was the great fish-market of London. There followed the Custom House and, just outside the City border, the Tower of London, used as a prison of state for the most dangerous offenders; it was also the only mint for the whole of England and served as a store-house for the records of the Westminster Courts of Justice.

The river formed the southern boundary of the City which was in shape an irregular square. On the other three sides it was enclosed by walls with gates at intervals. When the course of the walls was first determined it is impossible to say; it is probable that it dates from Roman

times; a fragment of the Roman wall may be seen in the street called after it, London Wall. The eastern wall just excluded the Tower of London and extended through the Minories and Aldgate as far north as Bishopsgate, whence the northern wall ran through Moorgate and Aldersgate to Newgate. The third wall went down from Newgate through Ludgate to the Thames, just including the Priory Church of the Black Friars within the City. The gates were closed at sunset every day; this practice continued until the year 1760. The walls were never formally pulled down; they were gradually destroyed or covered up to allow additional houses to be built.

The central point of the City was Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange. West Cheap—the modern Cheapside—was one of the widest streets of London with many tall and beautiful houses. At the eastern end stood the great conduit of sweet water conveyed by lead pipes underground from Paddington. In the centre stood a great cross, one of nine erected in the year 1290 by King Edward I. Each cross marked one of the resting places of the funeral *cortège* of Queen Eleanor on the journey from Lincoln to Westminster where she was buried. Stow describes how over-zealous Protestants had broken down the image of the Virgin and Holy Infant which adorned the cross in West Cheap.

Not far from West Cheap stood the Guildhall: it was built in 1411 and almost destroyed by the Great Fire. To-day there remain only a few traces of the Tudor buildings: the best remnant is the fine groined vaulting in the south porch. At the western end of West Cheap was St. Paul's Cathedral. A monastery had been established on that site as early as the seventh century. This had been destroyed by fire some twenty years after the Norman Conquest. It was succeeded by a noble cathedral in the Gothic style which stood until the Great

Fire of 1666. The walls were one hundred feet high and the tower three hundred. The spire, which was destroyed by lightning in the year 1561, had ascended two hundred feet higher. A public thoroughfare went through the transepts and across the church, and within was a scene of shameful desecration. The people showed no reverence and treated it as an ordinary street. It was a common sight to see errand boys rushing through laden with parcels, hawkers lingering there selling goods, and merchants meeting there to transact their business. Scores of idlers used to throng the Cathedral, chattering and jostling one another just as if they were outside. The only part used for divine service was the choir. No protests seem to have been made against this desecration; it was regarded as an ordinary part of City life, and indeed the practice was common in other mediaeval cities. Outside in the churchyard stood a cross, 'Paul's Cross.' Stow says that it was 'a pulpit cross of timber mounted upon steps of stone and covered with lead, in which sermons are preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon; the very antiquity of which cross is to me unknown.' Hugh Latimer, the Oxford martyr, was one of the most famous and popular of the preachers at Paul's Cross.

It may be worth inserting here a famous description from Froude (*History of England*, Ch. IV) of an ecclesiastical disturbance that took place in St. Paul's Cathedral on September 1, 1531, just thirty years before the foundation of our School. The story illustrates not only the religious unsettlement and the unpopularity of the Bishops but also the heat and violence of City life in the sixteenth century.

'We return to the struggle between the House of Commons and the Bishops, which recommenced in the following winter; first pausing to notice a clerical interlude of some illustrative importance

which took place in the close of the summer. The clergy were relieved of their premunire on engaging to pay 118,000 pounds within five years. They were punished for their general offences; the formal offence for which they were condemned being one which could not fairly be considered an offence at all. When they came to discuss therefore the manner in which the money was to be levied, they naturally quarrelled among themselves as to where the burden of the fine should fairly rest, and a little scene has been preserved to us by Hall, through which, with momentary distinctness, we can look in upon those poor men in their perplexity. The Bishops had settled among themselves that each diocese should make its own arrangements; and some of these great persons intended to spare their own shoulders to the utmost decent extremity. With this object, Stokesley, Bishop of London, who was just then very busy burning heretics, and therefore in bad odour with the people, resolved to call a meeting of five or six of his clergy, on whom he could depend, and passing quietly with their assistance such resolutions as seemed convenient, to avoid in this way the more doubtful expedient of a large assembly.

The necessary intimations were given, and the meeting was to be held on the 1st September, in the Chapter-house of St. Paul's. The Bishop arrived at the time appointed, but unhappily for his hopes, not only the chosen six, but with them six hundred of the clergy of Middlesex, accompanied by a mob of the London citizens, all gathered in a crowd at the Chapter-house door, and clamouring to be admitted.

The Bishop, trusting in the strength of the chains and bolts, and still hoping to manage the affair officially, sent out a list of persons who might be allowed to take part in the proceedings, and these with difficulty made their way to the entrance. A rush was made by the others as they were going in, and there was a scuffle, which ended for the moment in the victory of the officials; but the triumph was of brief duration; the excluded clergy were now encouraged by the people; they returned vigorously to the attack, broke down the doors, "struck the Bishop's officers over the face," and the whole crowd, priests and laity, rushed together, storming and shouting into the Chapter-house. The scene may easily be imagined; dust flying, gowns torn, heads broken, well-fed faces in the hot September weather steaming with anger and exertion, and every voice in loudest outcry. At length the clamour was partially subdued, and the Bishop, beautifully equal to the emergency, arose bland and persuasive.

“My brethren,” he said, “I marvel not a little why ye be so heady. Ye know not what shall be said to you, therefore I pray you keep silence, and hear me patiently. My friends, ye all know that we be men, frail of condition and no angels; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned ourselves towards the King our sovereign Lord and his laws; so that all we of the clergy were in premunire, by reason whereof all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned. Yet his Grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say why he should not extend his laws upon us.

“Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his Grace for mercy, to whom he answered he was ever inclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences we had but little penance; for when he might, by the rigour of his laws, have taken all our livelihoods, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And though this sum may be more than we may easily bear, yet, by the rigour of his law, we should have borne the whole burden; whereupon, my brethren, I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary towards payment of this sum granted.”

“The ingenuity of this address deserved all praise; but the beauty of the form was insufficient to disguise the inconclusiveness of the reasoning. It confessed an offence which the hearers knew to be none; the true provocation which had led to the penalty—the unjust extortion of the High Court officials—was ignored. The crowd laughed and hooted. The clergy fiercely tightened their purse-strings, and the Bishop was heard out with hardly restrained indignation. “My lord,” it was shortly answered by one of them, “twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest. Victual and all else is now so dear that poverty enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my Lord, we never meddled with the Cardinal’s faculties. Let the Bishops and abbots which have offended pay.” Loud clamour followed and shouts of applause. The Bishop’s officers gave the priests high words. The priests threw back the taunts as they came; and the London citizens, delighting in the scandalous quarrel, hounded on the opposition. From words they passed to blows; the bedell and vergers tried to keep order, but were buffeted and stricken, and the meeting broke up in wild uproar and confusion.”

One of the most venerable of the monuments of Old London is the Charterhouse on the north-eastern border of the City. As we relate elsewhere at greater length, it

was founded in 1371 by one of King Edward III's captains in the French wars. After the suppression, instead of being destroyed like so many of the City religious houses, it was given by King Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Audley and then to Lord North. It later passed into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk. In the year 1611 it was sold to Thomas Sutton who endowed it as a charitable institution for eighty 'decayed merchants' and as a school for boys. The school grew and moved to Godalming in 1871, its old quarters being taken over by Merchant Taylors' School which moved thither from Suffolk Lane. The Charterhouse still houses about sixty poor brothers. Remains of the monastery and buildings erected shortly after the suppression can still be seen. The Charterhouse has been made famous in literature by Thackeray's description of Colonel Newcome's last years there as a poor brother.

This period witnessed great changes in the commercial life of England, and London in particular was affected. The power of the Gilds was slowly passing away. During the Middle Ages the Gilds had controlled the work of the craftsmen, protected their interests and provided for their families in times of hardship. They were very wealthy, for they frequently received large legacies from rich members who had died. The Protector Somerset had seized much of their wealth, and at the end of his rule they were so impoverished that they never regained their former power. A better future awaited them.

In spite of the distress caused amongst the merchants by the suppression of the Gilds, the sixteenth century was a time of great commercial progress. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the trading centre of the world changed from Antwerp to London. This was to a great extent due to the enterprise of Sir Thomas Gresham, a

wealthy member of the Mercers' Company. At the age of thirty-two he was appointed Royal Agent at Antwerp. Observing that the prosperity of that city was being impoverished by the religious wars in the Netherlands, he determined that London should henceforth take the lead in the trade of the world. The chief obstacle to the commercial development of London was the difficulty of ensuring co-operation amongst the City merchants who had no recognized place of assembly for discussion and negotiation like the *bourse* at Antwerp. Gresham came to London and had a similar building erected at the top of Cornhill. It was opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1567 and named 'The Royal Exchange.' The original structure was burnt down in the Great Fire, and its successor was destroyed by a later fire. The present building was erected in 1842, and has been enriched by some fine panels illustrating the history of the City. It is still used as a meeting place for merchants with no halls of their own. Under the leadership of Sir Thomas Gresham, London rose to the most important commercial position in the world. Like several other City magnates whom we have already named and shall, *honoris causa*, name again, Gresham devoted part of his wealth to the foundation of a famous school, Gresham's at Holt.

This commercial expansion was made possible only by the fact that the River Thames afforded a port, as the Scheldt had afforded to Antwerp. The largest ships then in existence were able to come up the Thames in safety as far as London. The port of London was as well situated as any of the great world-markets and its possibilities were rapidly developed. It was conveniently placed for communication with America and for trade with the East by the recently discovered routes. Sir Thomas Gresham gave a further stimulus to the commercial development of London by his activities at

Antwerp. When the Crown was in need of money it was the custom for the King to ask for loans. The King's loans were usually taken up by the merchants of Antwerp at an exorbitant rate of interest. While Gresham was Royal Agent at Antwerp he reduced the rate of interest from fourteen per cent. to ten per cent. He then persuaded the merchants of London to take up the loans themselves so that the interest on them should not go abroad. Thus London was beginning to divert to herself much of the business, financial and commercial, of her rival. The sack of Antwerp in the year 1576 made certain the supremacy of London.

Before the conclusion of the chapter some reference should be made to the dress of the period. Men wore doublets, padded to fit the body tightly and carried down in front to a prolonged peak, and 'petticoat breeches.' The hose were puffed out from the middle of the thigh, where they met the tight leggings or stockings that were carried up beneath them. Shoes were very broad. Their caps were flat and of simple material and sometimes a coif was tied under the chin; a large, stiff, circular ruff was worn round the neck. Cloaks were usually very short and open in front with puffed and slashed sleeves. For a lady the ordinary dress was a long peaked stomacher; and farthingales were worn to expand the clothes from the hips. Ruffs and slashed sleeves were favoured by ladies as much as by men. Both sexes wore ornaments of every kind, lace, feathers and embroidery being in great request; the Tudor Londoner, like his Queen, loved display. The dress of the poor classes had a decided resemblance to that of the rich.

We have now set the stage for the most important act of our play.

CHAPTER III

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, 1561-1929

'Merchant Taylors' School stands a monument to the irrepressible energy of London's eternal youth. It is a majestic blend of the old and the new in that slowly changing public school life of ours which has its roots deep in our national character and our national history.'

The Times, July 8, 1926.

Homo plantat, homo irrigat,
sed Deus dat incrementum.

Homo plantat, homo fodit,
Prudens irrigat, custodit,
Sed fovente Deo prodit
Incrementum.

Semen parvum parvum gramen
Promit, maius deinde stamen,
Post messoribus solamen
Fit frumentum.

Sit mens culta parvulorum,
Cultior sit seniorum,
At Deus solus laborum
Complementum.

Auge vita nos divina,
Da profectus in doctrina;
Nec tuum, Deus, declina
Tutamentum.

Written for the School

by the Rev. J. A. L. AIREY.

IN the year 1561, Elizabeth had been three years on the throne and the air was thick with conspiracy, half religious, half political; Shakespeare's birth was three years away, Bacon was not a year old; Michelangelo had three years to live and Titian fifteen; the Continent was full of wars and perils of wars; the Catholic Church had embarked upon the Counter-Reformation; and the Merchant Taylors' Company decided to found a school 'for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature.'

To this end they purchased a part of the Manor of the Rose in the parish of St. Lawrence, Poulteney. The 'Rose' was a spacious mansion originally built by Sir John Pulteney, who was five times Lord Mayor in the reign of Edward III. It would therefore have been built at about the same time as the original Carthusian Priory in Charterhouse Square, portions of which still remain. After changing hands a number of times owing to bills of attainder, it was at length granted to the Earls of Sussex, in whose possession it was when sold. At one time it was owned by the Duke of Buckingham, who appears in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, where the 'Rose' itself is mentioned in the first act of that play:—

'Not long before your highness sped to France
The Duke, being at the Rose, within the parish
St. Lawrence Poulteney, did of me demand
What was the speech among the Londoners
Concerning the French journey.'

The exact site was in Suffolk Lane, which leads from Lower Thames Street to Cannon Street, but nothing now remains to mark the place, except a tablet which has been recently placed there by the City Corporation.

There were about thirty-two members of the Court at this time, of whom we know the names of twenty-four. The two most important, and to whom the School owes

most for its foundation, were Sir Thomas White and Richard Hilles. Sir Thomas White has come to some extent to be regarded as the Founder of the School, but this honour, if it were not given to the Merchant Taylors' Company as a body, should more justly be given to Richard Hilles. He subscribed from his own pocket £500 towards the total cost of purchasing the site, which was £566, and throughout his life watched over the School in its infancy and nourished it by his influence and money. Sir Thomas White was a Past Master of the Company, and had been Lord Mayor in 1553; he had been knighted by Queen Mary for his services in preserving peace in the City during the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt. He was a very successful merchant, and devoted his money to advancing education, his greatest achievement being the foundation of St. John's College, Oxford.

The Company purchased the west gatehouse, a long narrow court, the winding staircase at the south-east of the court which led to two rooms over the south end of the court, and part of the gallery, and on September 24 the members of the Court drew up the statutes of the School. The School was not to consist of more than two hundred and fifty scholars, a very large number, judged by the standards of that time. Of these one hundred were to be educated free of all charge, fifty were to pay two shillings and sixpence a quarter, and the remaining hundred five shillings a quarter. A High Master was to be in charge, with a chief usher and two under ushers to assist him.

'This High maister in doctrine, learning and teaching shall direct all the schoole. This maister shalbe chosen by the right worshipful the maister, wardens and assistants, with such advise & counsell of welle lerned men as they can get; a man in body whole, sober, discreete, honest, verteous, & learned, in good & cleane Latine

literature, &, also, in Greeke, yf such may be gotten. A wedded man, a single man, or a priest, that hath noe benefice, with cure, office, nor service, that may lett his dew business in the schoole.'

'There shalbe taught in the said schoole children of all nations & countryes indifferently . . . but first see that they can the catechisme in English or Latyn & that every of the said two hundreth & fifty schollers can read perfectly & write competently or els lett them not be admytted in no wise.

'The children shall come to the schoole in the mornynge at seaven of the clock both winter & somer, & tarry there until eleaven, & returne againe at one of the clock, and departe at five; and thrice in the day, kneeling on their knees, they shall say the prayers appointed with due tract and pawsing . . . that is to say, in the morning, at noone, & at evening.

'In the schoole at noe tyme at the yere, they shall use tallow candle in noe wise, but wax candles only. Also lett them bring no meats, nor drinck, nor bottles, nor use in the schoole no breakfasts, nor drincking in the tyme of learning in no wise. Nor lett them use noe cock-fighting, tennys-play, nor riding about of victoring, nor disputing abroade, which is but foolish babling & losse of tyme.

'Lett not the schoolmaister, head ussher, nor the under usshers, nor any of them, permytt nor lycence their schollers, to have remedy or leave to play, except only once in the weeke, when there falleth noe holiday. And those remedies to be had upon no other dayes only, but only upon the Twesdayes in the afternoone, or Thursdays at afternoone.'

The statutes, which are unique among the statutes of public schools in never having been formally repealed, show traces of the influence of Colet's statutes for St. Paul's. But unlike St. Paul's, the School has been from the beginning supported not out of trust funds administered by a City Company, but out of the corporate revenues of the Company. In this respect again it is unique.

When the statutes had been established the Court proceeded to appoint the Headmaster, and at length succeeded in obtaining Richard Mulcaster, Master of Arts of Christ Church, Oxford. He was well known at Oxford for his Latin and Greek scholarship, and for

his remarkable knowledge of Oriental literature. Immediately upon his appointment pupils poured in from all quarters, and in August 1562 the School was solemnly visited by the Bishop of London, accompanied by a number of distinguished scholars. The examination was held in the Chapel. This room was so called because it used to be the chapel in the days when the Manor was used as a town house. At the time of the Great Fire it was destroyed, except for the east wall, which was incorporated into the new building, and the room continued to retain the name, although it was only used as the examination room. The examiners not only examined the scholars to discover whether they had acquired any knowledge, but also the Headmaster and his assistants to determine whether they were capable of imparting any. This must have made examinations a little less distasteful to the first Merchant Taylors, for it seems that the system lasted some time. Why was it ever abandoned? It is clear from the list of eminent scholars who visited the School from its very foundation that it soon established a reputation for itself.

An interesting event in illustration of this occurred at the time of the foundation of Jesus College, Oxford, in the year 1571, that is, only ten years after the School's foundation. Dr. Hugh Price who had built the college, having heard of certain old Merchant Taylors at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, prevailed on the Queen to elect them as first scholars of the College in order to attract others to the new foundation. One of the four thus elected was Lancelot Andrewes, afterwards Bishop of Winchester and one of the translators of the Bible, whose name the Hebrew Class hold in special honour. It is worth noting here also that two others of the translators of the Bible, Bishops Dove and Tomson, learnt their Hebrew at the School.

In 1566 Sir Thomas White appropriated to members of the School thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, which he had just founded. In this he was following the example of earlier Founders; St. John's has been to the School what New College has been to Winchester and King's to Eton. This at once placed the School on a level with the greatest schools in England and attracted a large number of boys to the School, who were sent by parents from parts even so distant as Somerset and Yorkshire. So great was the increase of those desiring to enter that the number allowed by the statutes was swiftly attained and Mulcaster began to receive extra scholars into his own house above the number allowed. For this he was severely reprimanded by the Court, and compelled to reduce the number at once.

The first examination and election of scholars to St. John's took place in 1572. The examination was held on June 10, and the actual election of those successful on June 11, St. Barnabas' Day, as now. The examination was in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and began at eight o'clock after a speech of welcome delivered by a senior member of the School to the examiners, the Court, the President of St. John's and the senior Fellows of the College.

The next few years are marked by continual quarrels between the Court and the Fellows of St. John's over the election of scholars to St. John's. The college, as the time for the election drew near, used to find many and various reasons which prevented them from holding the election. The quarrel waxed very fierce but at length an agreement was reached which satisfied both parties, St. John's agreeing to send representatives to London to elect the scholars and the Court declaring their willingness to pay their travelling expenses.

Meanwhile Mulcaster had offended the Court in a number of ways, and had further aggravated them by not submitting to their admonitions. He was charged before the Court of disregarding the Company's orders and of disrespect to the School visitors. A tardy apology closed the rupture for a while, but by 1586 Mulcaster had conceived such a distaste for his position that in June of that year, after some fruitless attempts had been made to appease him, he gave formal notice of his desire to resign.

During his twenty-five years as Headmaster, Mulcaster had served the School well, despite his choleric temperament, which was the cause of his quarrels with the Court, and there is no doubt that his appointment as Headmaster of the new School had attracted many to it. Of his methods of teaching Fuller observes: 'In a morning he would exactly and plainly construe and parce the lesson to his scholars; which done he slept his hour (custom made him critical to proportion it), in his desk in the school; but woe be to the scholar that slept the while. Awaking he heard them accurately; and Atropos might be persuaded to pity as soon as he to pardon where he found just fault. The prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him, as much as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending children.'

Besides being an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, he was the author of a number of treatises in English on education, the language of which is unusually good. He seems to have been addicted also to dramatic composition (drama was in the air by 1580 and Shakespeare was soon to arrive in London); while we are also told that he 'yearly presented some playes to the Court in which his scholars were only actors—and by that means taught them good behaviour and audacity.' He also

presented plays to Queen Elizabeth, in which a few of his scholars who had been specially trained, took part. In the *Revels Account* for 1583, we find the following entry: 'A historie of Ariodante and Geneuova shewed before her majestie on Shrovetuesdaie at night enacted by Mr. Mulcaster's children ffor which was newe prepared and Employed, one Citty, one battlement of Canvas.'

It is perhaps not altogether fantastic to suppose that on one of these occasions one of the actors was Thomas Kyd, who later wrote *The Spanish Tragedy*, one of the most popular dramas of his day, for he entered the School in 1565.

So famous and important had the School become that the Company had no difficulty in choosing a capable successor to Mulcaster from among the numerous applicants for the position, and Henry Wilkinson, who had been chief usher at the School in 1573, was elected to the headmastership. After only six years, however, Wilkinson retired from teaching and was succeeded by his chief usher, Edmund Smith; but he only held the post seven years. A famous Old Boy who passed through the School during Smith's time was Archbishop Juxon who attended Charles I on the scaffold.

These frequent changes were unfortunate and not at all conducive to the progress of the School, but the appointment of William Hayne starts a period of steady progress which lasts until the disturbing excitement of the Civil War unsettles the whole of England. On March 24, 1603, died Queen Elizabeth, who had conferred distinguished marks of approbation on many members of the School, and it was decided by the Company that Hayne should compose a speech in honour of James I and train one of his scholars to deliver it before the King, 'which noe doubt shall tend much to his owne

comendacon, and the creditt of the Company.' We may in part perhaps attribute to this the many distinctions and preferments bestowed on Merchant Taylors throughout the reign of James I.

In the year before, in 1602, a member of the Company, Sir Robert Lee, was Lord Mayor, and the Company paid the expenses for apparel for ten members of the School who represented Apollo and the Muses in the Lord Mayor's procession.

An interesting incident took place in connection with the annual election of St. John's scholars in the year 1606. One Robert Cooper had been elected who had some deformity in his legs. At the election, since he was standing with some others this was not noticed, nor was it discovered until he presented himself at St. John's for admission. St. John's did not wish to have any further quarrels with the Company, but yet were inclined to reject him since one of their statutes stated 'that the schollers that are eligible must be free from all spott of mynde and all deformities of body.' The matter was referred by the College to the Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, who declared that, had the deformity been noticed before the election, Cooper should not have been elected, but that since he had been duly elected he could not now justly be rejected. He therefore recommended that for the future greater attention should be paid to the personal appearance as well as to the literary accomplishments of the candidates.

When the School had been in existence fifty years, it was thought desirable that the statutes should be revised, and a committee was appointed to report to the Company. The official reports begin with a statement that the School was famous throughout England and also in some remote places beyond the seas, and that for these three consideracions, viz.

‘Ffirst, for number of schollers, it is the greatest schoole included under one rooffe.

‘Secondly, the schollers are taught jointly by one master and three ushers.

‘Thirdly, it is a schoole for liberty most free, being open especially for poore mens children as well of all nations, as for the marchaun-tailoers themselves.

‘And whereas it hath fallen out of late daies that some persons have complained that their sonnes have not risen in learnyng, to be worthely placed in the highest formes,—it is to be thought that such a complaynt of the schoole-maister and ushers is noe novelty—but, howsoever it be, the Company greatly disliketh any evill report of their schoole or teachers—and thereupon they have spent their labor and industry with the help and advice of some learned men to devise a Probation for the reformation and better triall of the state of the schoole hereafter.’

The Probations were to be held three times a year and the Headmaster eight or nine days before was to remind all scholars to assemble at the school on that day at half-past six in the morning. The examination continued till eleven when there was a break till half-past twelve, then followed the afternoon paper till five o’clock. Precautions were to be taken that no one should be absent through ignorance and anyone who was absent from three consecutive probation days was to be dismissed. The scholars’ papers were to be kept ‘that the succeeding posterity, as well of the Company as of the Schoole, by comparing their present exercises with them of former tymes may see how much and wherein they exceed or come behinde them.’ The Probation books have been preserved in their completeness since that time and in consequence we have a singularly full record of the names of early Merchant Taylors.

The curriculum at this time consisted almost entirely of Latin, which was taught in all the forms, and Greek, which was taught from the fourth form upwards. Hebrew was also studied by the senior members, while

writing and very elementary arithmetic were probably taught throughout the School for one or two hours a week. In those forms where Latin and Greek were taught the morning was devoted to Latin translation, prose and verse composition, and the afternoon to the same studies in Greek.

In this same year, 1611, James I intimated his intention of dining at the Merchant 'Taylors' Hall and Hayne was asked to train some of the boys to welcome his Majesty with orations and verses. Unfortunately, someone suggested that Hayne was not familiar with the kind of entertainment likely to amuse royalty, and that instead Ben Jonson should be asked to arrange an entertainment; which was done, much to the mortification of Hayne and the School. It was at this banquet, according to tradition, that the National Anthem was first sung; we have already described the banquet in an earlier chapter.

At this time the majority of the School were taught in different parts of the large schoolroom, and many distractions were thus afforded to those who did not wish to work. Hayne therefore asked the Company to erect movable partitions, which they did. Hayne and the Court were in advance of their time here; many of our Schools did all their work in one undivided room as late as the fifties of the last century.

In 1624 Hayne's health was not as sound as it had been, and a number of members of the Company, who desired that a certain Nicolas Gray should be appointed Headmaster, took Hayne's ill-health as an excuse for lodging a formal complaint against his continuing as Headmaster. The charges made against him were without foundation and were answered by Hayne, but the Court dismissed him 'upon consideracon of the great informity and indisposicon of his body as also of his much weakenes in memory and his forgettfullnesse.' Nicolas Gray was

forthwith elected Headmaster in his place, but Hayne would not leave his house at the school and preferred a bill of complaint against the Court in the Court of Chancery. He lost his case but was given £130 compensation to induce him to relax his obstinacy. The whole incident was surrounded with suspicion; Gray was suspected of having bribed members of the Court and the immediate result of the incident was that the distinguished scholars who usually visited the School refrained from doing so for some years. The most famous of Hayne's pupils was James Shirley, who, although he wrote numerous plays in the course of forty years during which he was connected with the stage, is usually only remembered for his famous lyric 'The glories of our blood and state.' He died in 1666 of starvation and suffering caused by the Great Fire.

Gray resigned after seven years, which were without any incident of note, and was succeeded by John Edwards, who only held the position for two years. In 1634 Laud, who was now Chancellor of Oxford, persuaded him to accept the proctorship of the University with the possibility of a professorship in natural philosophy. He was succeeded by William Staple, who was recommended to the Company by Laud. We cannot claim Laud as an O.M.T.—his friend and successor Juxon was—but as Fellow and afterwards President of St. John's, he must have known the School very well.

Staple was appointed Headmaster in 1635, when Charles I was ruling with Laud and Strafford as his chief advisers without any parliament. He continued as Headmaster for eight troubled years until political difficulties forced him to fly in 1643. For almost the whole of his first two years the school was closed owing to a severe attack of the plague which, breaking out at

irregular intervals since the School was founded, had often previously necessitated ceasing work. Nevertheless Staple kept the head form together and gave them regular instruction so that certain money left by Sir Thomas White should not devolve to Christ's Hospital, as by his will it would have done had the School ceased altogether to exist.

The Civil War had begun in 1642, and we catch an interesting glimpse of the state of England in 1643 in a letter from St. John's to the Company, in which the College laments 'the comon troubles and distraccons of the tymes' which not only rendered it too hazardous for them to come to the school for the election of scholars but also put it out of their power to mention any other place where they might meet in safety. In September, 1643, the Solemn League and Covenant was signed and all loyal clergy and schoolmasters were pressed to sign it. Those who refused were turned out of their benefices and houses. A committee for plundered ministers was also formed under pretence of providing for such partisans of the Parliamentarians as had lost anything to the King's forces or had been deprived of their livings by the Bishops for their puritanism or seditious practices.

Before this committee Staple was summoned to appear in March, 1644, to answer for his 'superstition and malignancy,' but he fled to a place of safety, fearing that his well-known attachment to the Church and the King would not stand him in good stead before the committee. Thereupon the committee deprived him of his office and requested the Company to elect one Nicolas Awgar. The Company invited him to stand for election with the other candidates but, when he refused, the Court, being unwilling to surrender their right of choosing their own Headmaster, appointed a deputation to wait on the

committee, with the result that while the headmastership of almost every other school was disposed of by Cromwell's committee, that of Merchant Taylors' was saved by the courage of the Company.

The Company proceeded to elect as Headmaster, William Dugard, who had an even more chequered career than his predecessor. Oxford, which had been the centre of the war for some time, was captured by the Roundheads in 1646, and St. John's, a Cavalier stronghold, was reduced almost to poverty and was forbidden by the Roundheads to hold any election of scholars. Nevertheless in 1647 an election took place and the scholars went into residence, but in the next year the Roundheads showed their disapproval of this act by ejecting the President and the two senior Fellows.

In the year 1649 Charles I was executed and the royal family went into exile, where they prevailed upon Claudius Salmasius to write a 'defence of the martyred monarch.' This pamphlet Dugard, eager to wipe out any aspersion of being a party to the King's murder, printed on his private press in defiance of the victorious Parliamentarians. For this he was committed to Newgate, his presses, which he valued at more than £1,000, were seized and the Company were requested to remove him from his office as a person unfit to 'be entrusted with soe much youth.' After a month's imprisonment he was released to find that the Company had obeyed the Parliamentarians and elected a Mr. Stevens to be Headmaster. When he had unsuccessfully applied for the post of usher at the School which he loved, Milton, who was at that time living in the City, undertook to intercede for him, with the result that the Company received a letter from the Governor calling upon them to restore Dugard. As a result he once more became Headmaster, and in the course of a few months, in 1651, he printed on his press,

which had been restored to him, Milton's reply to Salmasius. However, he did not long remain in favour with the Commonwealth for in the very next year the House of Commons ordered a number of books which he had printed to be publicly burned. The Company thereupon requested him to refrain from any further printing and to devote all his time to the School.

Dugard's one outstanding service to the School was that he was the first to set up a folio register of its members, with full particulars of every scholar admitted. This is still preserved in the library of Sion College. In 1658 we again find him at difference with the Company because he had admitted two hundred and seventy-five boys into the School, which was contrary to the statutes, and in 1660 the Court decided to dismiss him. He then opened a private school near Coleman Street, but only lived two years after his dismissal. Apart from his services to the School we are indebted to him for two Greek epigrams, one on Cromwell's mother, the other on Charles I, both of which reveal strong Royalist inclinations.

John Goad, who succeeded Dugard, had been at the School himself and from there had been elected to St. John's. He afterwards became rector of St. Giles', Oxford, and distinguished himself by performing divine service in that church while the Parliamentarians were bombarding the city. He came to the School about a year after the Restoration when people, finding themselves free from puritanical restraint, were rushing to every extreme of extravagance and licence. The members of the School, having been obliged for some twelve years to subdue their youthful inclinations, took every opportunity of testifying their joy at the return of the golden age, with the result that for some time it was almost impossible to induce them to apply themselves

to anything serious. It was Goad's first task to counteract this reaction from puritanism in the School, and so discreet were his methods that the School was one of the first to assume its normal course of work.

This, however, had been scarcely accomplished when a great calamity befel the school in 1666; it was entirely destroyed by the Great Fire, which broke out at about one o'clock on the morning of September 2, in Pudding Lane, which lay east of Suffolk Lane. From the evidence of one Thomas Middleton, among others, it seems that the district immediately round the school was one of those in which the work of incendiaries was suspected.

'Hearing the general outcry that the City was fired by papists and French I repaired to the top of a Church steeple near the Three Cranes in the Vintry, with several others; and we all took notice that the fire did break forth out of several houses when the houses which were burned were at a good distance from them every way; and more particularly I saw the fire break out from the inside of Lawrence Poulteney's steeple when there was no fire near it.'

We have in this a good example of reasoning from insufficient premises for flying sparks would perfectly well account for this phenomenon.

However well or ill founded these suspicions were, by the afternoon of the first day the school was completely destroyed with all its property, except the contents of the newly established library. At Goad's petition the Company had erected a library and stocked it with a large number of books at their own expense in 1662. In addition to the sum voted by them many individual members had subscribed towards purchasing books, and early in 1666 the Court made an order that no one should be admitted an assistant of the Company until he had subscribed forty shillings towards the library—a salutary principle which has been suffered to fall into disuse.

When the Fire broke out, Goad, with great foresight, hastily removed almost all the books to places of safety, with the result that the School now possesses many rare books which would have otherwise been destroyed. The library was afterwards rebuilt, and so impressed were the Public Schools Commissioners by it that they recommend in their report of 1864 'that every Public School should provide the same facilities which Merchant Taylors' affords.'

For some time after the Fire it was not possible to find anywhere where the School might assemble, but after about twelve months permission was obtained to assemble at St. Mary's Grammar School in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, where it met until the new school was complete. The work of rebuilding was not commenced until 1670, when the 'Chapel' was begun. From that time the work progressed slowly but steadily, being financed by voluntary subscriptions from friends of the School, and by 1674 it was so complete as to allow the annual election of St. John's scholars to be held in the new school; on November 26, 1675, the Master of the Company was able to announce that it was now complete and that all debts had been paid.

The new school was considerably more spacious and better fitted for its purpose than the old one. There were two storeys to the main building; the upper one was the large schoolroom and the lower consisted of two classrooms, and apartments for the assistant masters. The schoolroom was used for assembling in the morning and then as a classroom for the majority of the school. It was eighty-two feet long, twenty-four feet wide and twenty feet high, and was lighted by eight tall circular topped windows. At one end of the room was a raised platform on which was the Headmaster's desk and the head form table. Down both sides of the room ran three

rows of desks, each row being slightly raised above the one in front of it. The assistant masters' chairs were placed at intervals down the room and their respective forms would sit in the desks near their chair. We must also remember that at this time each master had two forms in his charge. The lower storey did not cover the same area as the upper, which was supported on the east side by a row of stone pillars forming a sort of cloister, which became the name for this space; it was used as a playground. Leading off this covered playground were two classrooms and the apartments for the three assistant masters, which formed the lower storey. Next to this main building was the library, and adjoining this was the Headmaster's house. South of the library was the 'Chapel,' which had been the first of the buildings to be completed. A good idea can be formed of the new buildings from prints that still exist, two of which are reproduced in this book.

Goad was only destined to act as Headmaster in the new school for five years. In March 1681, some passages from his commentary on the Church catechism were laid before the Grand Jury of London, who complained to the Company of Goad's popish tendencies betrayed in these passages. These were the days of Titus Oates, who was himself at the School for a short time in 1669, and the Popish Plot. After some debate the Company decided that Goad was "popishly and erroneously affected" and discharged him from being Headmaster after twenty years of faithful service to the School.

It may be worth quoting some *Notes on the Method and Education of Youth in Merchant Taylors' School in the year 1671*, which were written by one Thomas Rawlins, who was the founder of the Grammar School, Quorn, Loughborough.

Monday.

In the Forenoon we construe & parse ye Greek Testament & show Latin Verses. Afternoone, we construe tullies offices & transcribe ye Phrases. [By 'tullies offices' is meant *Cicero De Officiis*.]

Tuesday.

In the forenoone We construe Ovid metamorphosis & transcribe ye phrases. In ye Afternoone we construe tullies orations & transcribe ye phrases.

Wednesday.

In ye forenoone we construe & parse Xenophon & show them in latin. In ye afternoon we construe Virgill. And transcribe ye phrases.

Thursday.

In ye Forenone we construe & parse Dupont on ye psalms & Show Lattin verses. In ye Afternoon we construe terence & transcribe ye phrases.

Fryday.

In ye Forenoone we construe and parse greek aesop. In ye Afternoone we construe delectus, epigrammata & (here this manuscript breaks off).

John Hartecliffe, who succeeded Goad in 1681, only stayed for five years, after which he resigned. Where-upon James II addressed a letter to the Company in favour of James Lee, who had formerly been second usher at the School and was now headmaster of St. Saviour's, Southwark. But the Company were no more willing to resign their right of election into the hands of James II than their predecessors had been willing to submit to the recommendations of Cromwell. Accordingly they deferred their choice in the hope that their Master might prevail upon the King not to interfere in the election. This he accomplished, the King's letter of recommendation was revoked and the Company proceeded to elect Ambrose Bonwicke, a former member of the School and afterwards of St. John's. It is interesting to see James II interfering here as he did afterwards at Magdalen College, Oxford; perhaps Lee was a

Roman Catholic, and the King may have wished in this way to secure the adherence of a great City school to his schemes for re-establishing Roman Catholicism in this country.

Bonwicke was elected in 1686, but in 1690 he and his assistants were ordered to appear before the Court because they had not taken the oath of allegiance to William of Orange as was required by law. The ushers declared that they had taken it but Bonwicke asked for a month in which to consider his reply. This was tacitly extended to twelve months, during which no action was taken against him. At the end of this time he was ordered once more to appear before the Court and not being able to urge any plea against an Act of Parliament which positively declared him, as a non-juror, incapable of holding his place, he was dismissed.

Matthew Shortyng, of Jesus College, Cambridge, succeeded Bonwicke. Before he could take up his post he was ordered to produce before the Court a certificate to the effect that he had taken the oath of allegiance.

In 1698, a Great School Feast was held, which seems to have a right to the title of the first Old Merchant Taylors' Dinner; there cannot have been many Old Boys' dinners at any School before then. Those who had been educated at the School, both 'those engaged in business in the City and those in the learned professions,' established an annual feast at which, in order that they might mingle the useful with the pleasant, they determined to make a collection for such boys as missed the election to St. John's, in order to help them to obtain a University degree. This appears to have been the origin of the Superannuation Exhibition which was formerly given for Hebrew. The festivities began in the morning when the whole School, to the number at this time of three hundred and forty, together with a large number of

Old Boys, marched to St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, where a sermon was preached before them. After this they went to the Company's Hall where every boy was given a glass of canary and a roll. Then when the members of the School had gone the former members sat down to their own feast. In the next year for some reason the feast was not held, but it was celebrated again with all the proper ceremony on December 11, 1700, as is recorded in the *Protestant Mercury*; again in 1701 we find the following announcement appearing in the *Post Boy* on Tuesday, November 25: 'The Anniversary Feast of Gentlemen Educated at the Merchant Taylors' School will be held at Merchant Taylors' Hall on Thursday, December 11, 1701.' A similar notice appears for some years afterwards and then disappears, although it is unlikely that the feast itself was discontinued. We know that a dinner was held in 1761.

Towards the end of 1702 the upper members of the School began to be distinguished from the rest of the head form by the names of the Table and the Bench. From the Probation of September, 1702, it is evident that the Table consisted of eight monitors besides the head monitor, and that the Bench consisted of as many prompters, who were so called because they acted in that capacity to the monitors on Speech Day, when all of them had to deliver speeches.

Six months after this system had been established the head monitor of the School was responsible for a serious breach of discipline. A complaint was lodged against him that he had persuaded one of the boys, not yet fourteen years of age, to visit the theatre, tavern, and gaming house. Phillips admitted the offence and besought pardon of the boy's father as well as of the Company. He went so far as to tender a full confession in writing, coupled with many good resolutions for the

future. The Court, therefore, did not expel him; indeed they were so satisfied that he would carry out his good intentions that they elected him to St. John's on the ensuing St. Barnabas' Day. But their sanguine expectations came to nothing for in less than a twelve-month continued misconduct caused his expulsion from the College.

Shortyng died in 1707 and the Court in appointing as his successor, Thomas Parsell, an Old Boy, started the system whereby precedence used to be formally given to candidates for the headmastership who had been at the School as boys or as assistant masters. They considered that the interest of the School was likely to be promoted if this system was adopted, for such men would be especially jealous for the reputation of the School to which they themselves were indebted for their early education. This principle had in fact been followed to some extent in preceding years. Of the twelve Headmasters who had ruled the School since its foundation five, and possibly six, had been Old Merchant Taylors and two had been under-usheers.

Parsell died in 1720 and was succeeded by Matthew Smith. It was during his time that the Court ordered that Cicero's works should be read in the School, having heard that they were being neglected; it has not been necessary for them to intervene again!

Early in 1731 Smith died, after spending nearly twenty-eight years in the service of Merchant Taylors', having been an assistant master before becoming Headmaster. The vacancy was filled by John Criche, who besides being an Old Boy and a Fellow of St. John's had held in succession the positions of third, second and first assistant master before becoming Headmaster. In December of the same year the Court ordered that no Jews should be admitted to the School. This was a

seemingly intolerant and illiberal order, and contrary to the original statutes, but it was probably brought about by the attitude of the Jews themselves towards the teaching of the catechism and the New Testament as given at the School. This decision, which has since been rescinded, was curiously illogical as the School was one of the few schools in which the Hebrew language was taught. In 1744 the Court, at the request of Criche, removed the chains from the books in the library, thereby encouraging their wider use.

The greatest of Criche's pupils was Robert, Lord Clive. He entered the School in 1737 and on leaving added a name to its roll of Old Boys, headed by the names of Andrewes and Spenser, which was destined in a short time to outshine almost all. At School he was not exactly brilliant, although he is said to have sufficiently mastered the Latin tongue to be able to translate an ode of Horace 'into very proper English *ex tempore*.' Of his later career the British Empire in India is sufficient evidence.

The year 1760 witnessed the death of John Criche, who had been at the School as a master since 1710. He had a profound contempt for money and paid no attention whatever to his financial interests. He was a bachelor, a Jacobite and a non-juror; and in these peculiarities probably lies the cause of his failure to attain to high honours and distinctions.

With the election of James Townley to be Headmaster we feel that the School takes on a new lease of life and activity. He had been educated at the School and after taking his degree had returned to it as third usher. Thence he had been promoted to be headmaster of Christ's Hospital, but had resigned that post in order to return as Headmaster to his own School. Coming straight

from Christ's Hospital, where mathematics already formed part of the curriculum, he proposed that this subject should be introduced. The Company would scarcely listen to the suggestion and 'deferred the consideration of the matter for the present' and mathematics were not introduced till 1828. The curriculum remained narrowly classical at most of the Public Schools till the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that in spite of Newton.

In his next proposal he was more successful. Criche had made his pupils deliver speeches on both sides of a given subject of debate, but Townley thought that this should be discontinued and instituted instead repetitions every three or four months of select passages from the Bible in Hebrew and from English, Latin and Greek writers. On the first Repetition Day which was held in February, 1761, the following pieces according to Townley's diary were said:—

Psalm I. Hebraicè	Shackleford.
Hom. lib. 1. Calch. Agam. Ach.	Jeffs.
Sallust. Bell. Cat. Catilina ad Socios.	Moore.
Milton. Adam and Eve's Hymn.	Downing.
Psalm 13. Hebraicè.	Wigan.
Theophrasti. Cap. 1.	Winter.
Horatii. Lib. 1, Ode 2.	Gregg.
Swift. Partridges' Supposed Death.	Newbery.

The names on the extreme right are those of the monitors who recited. It will be admitted that the selection was a good one.

The year 1761 witnessed the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the School. A *Carmen Saeculare* composed by a member of the School, was recited at the Old Boys' dinner of that year to celebrate the occasion.

Townley had come to the School with the reputation



THE SCHOOL, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE

of a capable writer and a skilful critic. This had brought him into close contact with Garrick, who had such a high opinion of his judgment that he submitted all his own works to his correction, and there is no doubt that the revival of the plays given by the School was at any rate partly due to Garrick's encouragement. We know that Mulcaster occasionally presented plays between 1573 and 1583, but they were discontinued after his departure until in 1665 Goad revived the custom with the presentation of *Love's Pilgrimage* by Beaumont and Fletcher. The cast of this play includes five ladies, a circumstance which would make any dramatic society composed of men think twice before attempting to produce it. Whether the expense of presentation which fell on the Company was thought excessive, or whether it was thought that the scholars were distracted by such plays from their work we do not know, but the Court recorded 'that this bee noe president for the future.' We do know that no further plays were acted until in 1762 Townley obtained permission to stage a play again.

In that year the School acted the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The presentation was highly successful and Garrick, who had helped among other ways by providing the scenery, was so pleased with the production that he gave the scenery to the School. He also invited one of the boys who had taken the part of Thraso remarkably well, to join his company, but the boy refused. Close on two thousand people saw the performances, the expense of which was borne almost entirely by Townley. The next play performed was the *Phormio*, for which an epilogue was written for the lawyers of the play in the characters of an English, a Scotch and an Irish barrister. After this he presented the *Troades* of Seneca and the *Ignoramus* of Raggle on the same occasion. At this point the Court once more intervened and stopped the plays, although

they were bringing great credit to the School, on the ground that they distracted the boys from their more important studies. The plays which are now a regular feature of Speech Day or Election Day, seem to have been gradually developed from the speeches and epigrams which were the original features of the day. The Election Day papers which give the full details of this evolution date from 1658. It seems to have been customary for those who had to recite epigrams but were not capable of producing brilliant ones to pay people to write them for them. We have good reason for supposing that the following which is dated 1809 was composed by Charles Lamb for a guinea.

NIL MEDIOCRE PLACET.

'Twas reported of late that a man wanting bread
 Swallowed sixteen case knives for a *wbet*;
 Then without any lie it may safely be said
 That his stomach was rather *sharpset*.

In 1763 Townley succeeded in introducing geography into the curriculum. The remainder of his years were marred by some trouble with the monitors. He had rather imprudently overlooked certain cases of extreme severity on the part of the monitors in the performance of their duties and had also tended to belittle the authority of the ushers. The monitors had as a result become so presumptuous and insolent that they openly defied the ushers, and Townley was unable to check them. The Court intervened and while reprimanding the monitors severely, laid no small part of the blame on Townley himself.

Townley died in 1778 and was succeeded by Thomas Green, who had been educated at the School, but he died in 1783 before he had had the opportunity of rendering any outstanding service to it. He was succeeded by

Samuel Bishop, about whose character there seems to have been some difference of opinion. Wilson, the School historian, writes of himself as one of 'the group of grateful pupils from whose minds neither the follies nor the pleasures nor the labours nor the cares of life have been able to efface the fond remembrance of an instructor whom they loved' Charles Matthews, the famous comedian who was at the School from 1787-1791, says that 'two more cruel tyrants than Bishop and Rose (one of the ushers) never existed.' It is possible that memories of Rose warped Matthews' opinion of Bishop for we know that it was due to Rose's excessive brutality that Bishop was forced to stop flogging. A former member of the School who had afterwards gone to the university, came into the school one day and induced Rose, who had once flogged him severely, to come out into the Cloister. There he flogged him, to the joy of the whole School. On the next day when one of the ushers attempted to flog one of the boys a concerted rush was made upon him, his cane was taken from him and all vied with one another to obtain the largest fragment. The Headmaster in face of such a universal rebellion was compelled to submit and flogging ceased. Rebellions were common in English schools between 1770 and 1830, partly owing to the harshness of the discipline and partly to the revolutionary infection of 'French principles.'

Bishop died in 1795 and was succeeded by Thomas Cherry, another former member of the School. The opening years of his time as Headmaster are marked by an event which gives some indication of the attitude of the majority of English people at that time towards the French Revolution.

For about two years treasonable remarks had been found scrawled on the walls of the alleys leading to the school, and investigations carried out by some members

of the School had resulted in their authorship being traced to two boys in the head form, Richard Hayward and John Grose. No further steps, however, were taken at that time. On January 18, 1796, which was the Queen's birthday, a large silk tricolour was seen flying for three hours on the Tower of London in rivalry with the Royal Standard, but by the time the Major of the Tower had been informed it had been taken down. He organized a diligent search throughout the Tower and the 'symbol of French madness' was found under young Grose's bed; his father was assistant chaplain at the Tower. The flag was immediately burned in public and upon being examined Grose confessed that he had been incited to hoist the flag by Hayward, who was at that moment haranguing the other members of the head form on the merits of republicanism. When enquiry was made at the school about Hayward it was learnt that he had been compelled by his audience to make a hurried exit. When he returned a few days later he was so roughly treated that his father complained to the Court and requested that his son might be protected from further molestation. But the boys who had been responsible for the rough treatment of Hayward composed a letter to the Court which was signed by the head monitor, and another letter was sent, signed by a number of parents and guardians of boys at the School. The Court held an inquiry and declared their unanimous opinion 'that principles against the king and constitution ought to be immediately discountenanced' and the two boys were expelled. The masters of the School were thanked by the Court and the boys were granted a holiday as a mark of the Company's approval of their attitude. A month later the Court ordered that January 18 should for the future be observed as a School holiday to commemorate the loyalty they had shown.

At about the time that this additional holiday was granted Cherry was ordered to compile a list of the holidays which the School were allowed, and they were fixed for the future as follows: a week at Easter and Whitsuntide, three weeks at Christmas, and a week from St. Barnabas' Day, June 11; together with the feast of St. John the Baptist, Ash Wednesday, Ascension Day, the King's Birthday, the Queen's Birthday, King Charles' Martyrdom, King Charles II's Restoration, the fifth of November, Lord Mayor's Day and Sir Thomas White's birthday. The list has some historical significance when we recollect the loyalty to the royal cause which was always maintained by the School and also by St. John's. In addition to these the Headmaster was allowed to grant eight other whole days, besides every Saturday afternoon, but there was no long summer vacation as we know it.

Shortly after the tricolour on the Tower incident the School showed its loyalty in another very distinct way. Towards the end of 1797 the Government seem to have been in financial difficulties, owing, no doubt, to the expenses of the Napoleonic Wars, and the merchants, bankers, traders and other inhabitants of the City opened 'A Voluntary Contribution for the Defence of the Country.' To this fund the boys of the School subscribed a hundred guineas, the receipt for which now hangs in the Staff Common Room. The Secretary of the Committee also wrote to the Headmaster expressing his personal gratitude and suggesting that he should determine whether 'on so memorable an instance of patriotism those promising young men should not be allowed some early day to celebrate an act which will redound to the lasting honour of your learned seminary.'

Cherry resigned in 1819 and was succeeded by James

William Bellamy, father of the famous President of St. John's, Dr. James Bellamy. He reformed the curriculum, and placed the School on the path of steady progress again. The School curriculum up to the time of Townley had consisted almost entirely of Latin and Greek, with some Hebrew for the head form, and arithmetic for the juniors. Townley succeeded in introducing geography in 1763, but his suggestion that mathematics should also be introduced was 'deferred, for future consideration.' In 1828 Bellamy succeeded in introducing mathematics, and as a result the first additions since the foundation were made to the number of the staff. Two masters were engaged to teach writing and arithmetic, and two to teach mathematics. This seems a very late date to have introduced what has since become such an important part of the curriculum; yet the School was one of the first in which mathematics was studied. Before that time it seems to have been confined to those schools that made a special study of navigation, like Christ's Hospital and Sir Joseph Williamson's School at Rochester. Nevertheless from its inception the study flourished, and in 1864 the Public School Commissioners reported that the time given to the study of mathematics was 'considerably above what we have found in any other school.'

At the same time the classical education given at the School was no less thorough, and Bellamy turned out thirteen Firsts in Greats in fifteen years. He was not only a good scholar, but a conscientious and laborious teacher. Dr. Kebbel in *The Battle of Life*, tells us that he read with him Herodotus, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Homer, Livy, Cicero, Horace and Juvenal. He also taught them to write Latin prose, alcaics and hexameters, as well as Greek iambics 'well enough for the Schools if not for the Balliol or Ireland.'

In 1845 Bellamy resigned, and James Augustus Hessey became Headmaster. During his headmastership two important events took place. In 1861 the Tercenary of the foundation of the School was celebrated. The Court celebrated the event by founding four exhibitions for mathematics to Oxford or Cambridge, which later came to be called the Richard Hilles exhibitions, and are now devoted to natural science. At the same time the Old Boys founded what are known as the Tercenary scholarships for classics to either university.

Three years later the School was visited by the Public Schools Commissioners, but by this time Hessey had succeeded in carrying through a number of innovations. French, modern history and drawing were now included in the curriculum, although the time devoted to them was very small. German was not yet included, nor was there a separate Modern Side. Science was still entirely neglected, although most afternoons in the week were devoted to mathematics. The Public Schools Commissioners, in the course of their report, expressed the opinion that German should be taught, and that part of the time spent on mathematics, which was disproportionate to the time spent on other subjects, should be devoted to science. They also remarked upon the inconveniently small size of the School buildings and the playground, but had no doubt that this would be remedied in the near future, seeing that the Company had recently spent £20,000 in buying the rest of the Manor of the Rose.

The Report of the Commissioners marked an epoch in the history of English higher education. The Public Schools had sunk into a groove, but after the publication of the Report, and with the memory of Arnold fresh in their minds, they roused themselves and a new era begins.

The School had already embarked upon this new era under Bellamy, yet it still needed some great impulse to break traditions and habits which were obsolete, so that education at the School might advance with the advancing age. This impulse came with the purchase by the Company of the Charterhouse site when Charterhouse, on the recommendation of the Commissioners, moved from the City to Godalming. So complete was the change that it is hard for those who now journey to Charterhouse Square every day to imagine what life in Suffolk Lane was like immediately prior to the move. One who was a master for some years at Suffolk Lane says of the old school, 'my memories are vague but leave an impression of clumsy inconvenience.'

The buildings themselves had not been improved or enlarged since they were rebuilt after the Great Fire, and were far too small for two hundred and seventy boys, which was the average number at this time. The School was divided into eight or ten forms, so that every master had two forms to take at the same time. Most of the forms would sit in the large schoolroom, so that the master could manage both his forms at once by setting one to prepare work while he heard and corrected that of the other. There were two or three other small rooms which were used as classrooms, but the majority were taught in the large room.

At the time of the move from Suffolk Lane there were ten forms, the First, Second, Third, Lower Division, Upper Division, Lower Fifth, Upper Fifth, Sixth and Head Form. What used to be called the Transitus did not come into existence until 1901, and has no previous history at all. When the name was first used, those about to move from the Upper Fifth into the Transitus were derisively called the 'Transituri' by the members of the School who disliked the name. All these were

classical forms, and those who had no aptitude for classics, having laboriously attained to the Upper Fifth, there spent peaceful hours of slumber, only disturbed by the swift advent and exit of those more intelligent ones travelling along the classical way. There were two 'moves' a year, which were announced on St. Barnabas' Day and Doctors' Day, both of which occasions, as now, were honoured by the presence of the Court.

The desks in the schoolroom were so worn that it was very difficult to write on them. Especially was this true of the head form Table, because the tradition had already been established that monitors and prompters were allowed to carve their names upon leaving. The old Tables now in position by the south wall of the Great Hall must have been quite impossible to write upon. No inkpots were provided for the boys, so that part of every boy's outfit was a small bottle of ink which he carried to and from school.

The majority of the School were day boys, but there were always some boarders who had been sent from very long distances with a view to obtaining one of the scholarships to St. John's, which were appropriated to the school. The number of boarders varied between eighty and a hundred, and they were divided between the Headmaster, some of the ushers, and certain old ladies who lived near the School. We know of Mother Townsend, Mother Blunt and Mother Graham, all of whom were taking boarders towards the end of the Suffolk Lane era. From the little we know from certain Old Boys who were boarders, conditions do not seem to have been extraordinarily good.

The School hours were now from nine to one and from two to four. At nine o'clock the School assembled in the large schoolroom, and prayers were said. Previous to the move from Suffolk Lane prayers were said

in Latin by each of the monitors in turn, but Dr. Baker, when he became Headmaster, used to say them in English himself. This custom continued till 1927, when once again the monitors began to say them. The singing of a hymn was introduced in 1901.

All the morning was devoted to classics, except on Monday, when the whole School studied divinity, and the sixth and head forms (then separate) studied Hebrew. At that time the study of Hebrew was not peculiar to the School, as it has since become. From the time of the Renaissance a knowledge of Hebrew had been considered an essential part of a liberal education, and in consequence had formed a part of the curriculum at many Public Schools. It seems to have been studied at the School from its foundation, although there is no mention of it in the original statutes. Richard Mulcaster, the first Headmaster, was himself a capable Hebrew and Oriental scholar, and the knowledge of the language acquired at the School from the outset was very complete. Three of the commission appointed by James I in 1604 to produce the Authorized Version of the Bible were former members of the School. It was not till a very much later time, under Dr. Baker, that it became the custom for members of the School to specialize in Hebrew. There now exists a Hebrew class, composed of specialists in that branch of study. The School is the only one in England in which Hebrew is taught, and it continues to provide many of the most capable Hebrew scholars in the country.

The afternoon was entirely devoted to arithmetic and mathematics, except for occasional hours spent in studying French and drawing. The lower forms were also occasionally taught some geography and writing. There were no regular masters on the staff who could teach French, but two came to the school for two hours a week.

English history and literature were not taught as separate subjects; classical history was taught in the morning. A famous Old Boy now living who was at Suffolk Lane says, 'I learnt no English history or literature at school at all.' The system of teaching mathematics at this time deserves some attention. A boy would start learning arithmetic and then pass on to higher mathematics (excluding geometry). When he had learnt as much of that as he could, which the Public Schools Commissioners enigmatically remarked was considerably more than was good for him, he then commenced working at the elements of Euclid and proceeded to learn as much geometry as he could.

During the lunch hour from one to two, the School was turned loose on the City, except for the sixth and head forms, who were allowed to remain in the school. No regular lunch was provided at the school, although a small refreshment bar, very much like the 'Lun' of later days, was kept by the caretaker's wife, where the chief article for sale was confectionery. To obtain something more solid a number of the boys used to go to various eating-houses near the school. The majority, however, bought baked potatoes or some such delicacy from vendors outside the school and then went exploring the City, with the result that the average Merchant Taylor's knowledge of the City was like Sam Weller's, 'extensive and peculiar.' Another favourite, or rather regular way with some of spending the time was writing impositions in the waiting room at Cannon Street Station, while occasions were not few when the lanes off Cheapside resounded with shouts and howls from fighting masses of Merchant Taylors and Paulines.

The members of the two top forms at this time wore top hats and tail coats, while the rest of the School were obliged to wear dark clothes. The discipline of the

School was almost entirely maintained by the masters, for the power of the monitors had been greatly curtailed since the trouble in Townley's time. Each master always had a long cane on his desk in front of him, and according to numerous famous men who have passed through the School, did not hesitate to use it to the best advantage. In the Common Room at the School there is a portrait of a former master holding a piece of chalk, which has an interesting history in this connection. The original portrait showed him holding a long cane, but when the portrait was to be exhibited at the Royal Academy, Dr. Baker did not think it right that school methods should be thus publicly displayed. At his request the artist painted over the cane, and put in its place a piece of chalk, but the line of the cane can still be discerned.

Fagging scarcely existed at the School, except among the boarders, but there was one peculiar custom, since vanished, which is worth recording. When a member of the Head Form was asked to construe he used always to say 'place-boy, where does it begin?' affecting ignorance of the passage which he was supposed to have prepared. Thereupon the Place-boy, who was usually the junior member of the form, told the construer chapter and verse. It was a picturesque privilege and it would be interesting to know how it originated and why it was tolerated.

The only place for recreation at Suffolk Lane was the 'Cloister,' which was extremely small and practically useless for any energetic exercise. There was played in it a game which must be peculiar to the School. It was called 'Walling,' and was played by members of the head form only, and by them only at the time of examinations. The monitors stood at one end and the rest of the form at the other. The two sides then rushed at one another and a scrimmage ensued, each side trying to rub one of

the opposing side against the whitewashed walls. An attempt was made to continue the game at Charterhouse Square during the first examination held there, but the surroundings were not suitable and 'Walling' became extinct. The only other recreation possible at Suffolk Lane itself was boxing and singlestick, although the ceiling of the large schoolroom bore the marks of foot-balls which had been surreptitiously smuggled inside the building.

The Company, towards the end of the Suffolk Lane period, hired a ground for cricket matches with St. Paul's and Charterhouse, while occasional games were played on the old Eton and Middlesex ground. Football, however, was not regarded as a national sport deserving official recognition and the games had to be arranged entirely by the members of the School themselves who used to play at Victoria Park. Athletics were thoroughly organized and annual sports were held soon after Easter at Lillie Bridge. The Boat Club was not formed till after the move to Charterhouse Square, but going on the river was a favourite pastime. We have the record of a pair race at Putney, which took place in 1874, between two monitors, one of whom was the present Mr. Justice Shearman, and two prompters. The two monitors were an ill-matched pair, stroke weighing twelve stone and bow well under nine stone. The prompters won. In the next year a small regatta was held at Hammersmith, which was largely organized by Mr. Bampfylde, who had just joined the staff, and in 1876 a four-oared race took place between the School and King's College.

There was one other regular form of recreation in which nearly all those over fourteen seem to have indulged, namely, theatre-going. Several Old Boys lay great stress on the very real education derived from the

theatre at that time, and record with no little satisfaction and pride the fact that they saw Irving make his first appearance as Hamlet.

In 1872 Charterhouse School moved from London to Godalming, and the Company at once bought the whole site for £90,000. The site was large, and was situated in what is still one of the most delightful spots in the City. It occupied almost exactly the same site as the Great Cloister of the old Carthusian monastery, of which a fragment still remains in the south-west corner of the quadrangle. It was an ideal site for the school if it wished to remain in the City, being withdrawn from the rush and noise of the City, and surrounded by an air of dignity imparted by the venerable buildings of the Charterhouse. Suffolk Lane, on the other hand, was right in the centre of the bustle of the City; the buildings, as we have seen, were far too small, and even with the additional space which would now have been available since the Company had purchased the rest of the Manor of the Rose, the School would still be hindered by lack of space. At the same time, the affection felt for the original site was very strong, and it was not without great regret that the School heard that they were to leave their *δύσκαπνα δώματα*, as Dr. Hessey once called them.

In the meantime, Dr. Hessey had retired, and had been succeeded in 1870 by William Baker, a former head monitor who was then a Fellow of St. John's.

The old Charterhouse buildings were almost entirely pulled down and the foundation stone of the new school, which was designed by E. I. Anson, was laid on June 15, 1873, by the Duke of Edinburgh, accompanied by the Archbishop of York; within two years the school was completed. The main building of the school occupied approximately the site of the Gown Boys' buildings in

the old Charterhouse School, and was built in the collegiate Gothic style. In consequence, it will always be difficult to judge the merits of the building, since some will not allow the possibility of any new Gothic building possessing merits. The central portion of the upper part of the main building is occupied by the Great Hall, which is ninety-three feet long and fifty-feet wide. It is very lofty, and has a good hammer beam roof. At one end is a raised dais, on which is the Headmaster's chair, and in front of it the monitors' table, while at the opposite end, on the north side, there is a large fireplace on which are the Coats of Arms of the Masters and the twelve Wardens of the Company from 1872-1874. Unfortunately it is now almost entirely hidden by a high platform erected to accommodate the junior forms at assembly in the morning. The wall above the fireplace is decorated with the arms of the Company. The south wall is almost entirely occupied by an ugly window which tries to combine the features of a rose window with Perpendicular tracery. The circular light at the top is filled with stained glass representing St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Company, preaching, but the remainder is filled with plain glass. Beneath this window hang former tops of the monitors' Table and prompters' Bench, which are carved all over with the names of monitors and prompters. On the west side of the Hall is an organ and a large statue of Sir Thomas White.

Beneath the Great Hall is a pillared entrance hall, in which there are two interesting maps well worth studying. One is a reproduction of a map of London, attributed to one Ralph Agas and dated between 1560-1570, which makes it contemporary with the foundation of the School. The map has explanatory notes and a short history of London, in which its foundation is attributed to Brutus the Trojan, the great grandchild

of Anchises in the two thousand eight hundred and thirty-second year of the world. The other was made by William Faithorne in 1658, and has explanatory notes by Richard Newcourt, gentleman of Somerset. He traces the genealogy of Brutus, the founder of London, back to Uranus, but in his opinion the city was founded in the two thousand eight hundred and fifty-fifth year of the world.

On the same floor as the entrance hall is the School library, a very lofty room with a gallery round it. Here can be found the great majority of the books which have been given to the library since it was started in 1662. Among them is a valuable folio of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, an edition of Priscian with an autograph purporting to be Ben Jonson's and Garrick's copy of *De Officiis*, which was printed in 1582 and presented by Garrick to James Townley. There is also a portrait of Sir Thomas White over the fire-place which gives a better idea of the cautious Elizabethan financier than the elderly Sir Galahad of the Great Hall.

The other buildings, in addition to the main school, were the gymnasium, the two dining halls, besides some open fives courts on the north side of the quadrangle, and a rackets court in the south-east corner, which have now been demolished. There was a semi-circular lecture theatre behind the school, which was also used for the production of Greek plays. This was demolished in 1915, to make space for a geography room.

On April 6, 1875, the new school was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by Princess May, the Duke of Teck and the Duke of Cambridge. The opening ceremony took place in the lecture theatre, and there for an hour before the ceremony the band of the Coldstream Guards played to the large number of distinguished visitors present. At half-past one the



THE GREAT HALL, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE

royal party arrived, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and took their seats in the front of the theatre. After the Clerk of the Company had read a brief history of the School, the Prince of Wales declared the new school open. The head monitor, the present Mr. Justice Shearman, then recited a poem in Latin alcaics, of which the opening lines were:

Princeps amantis spes patriae et decus
 Quem semper artes ingenuas sequi
 Insuevit exemplum priorum
 Et proprii docuere mores.
 Incede [*here he bowed to the Prince*]

Later came the lines:

Incede Alexandria festi
 Pars merito melior diei
 [*here he bowed to the Princess and great applause ensued*].

A gold medal had been struck to celebrate the occasion and the Prince of Wales, upon receiving his, at once sent for the head monitor and presented it to him. The Archbishop of Canterbury then offered up a special prayer and pronounced the benediction. The official ceremony having been performed, the royal visitors walked round the High Level, which was not then interrupted by the rifle range.

It was during this walk round the playground that the Prince of Wales is said to have noticed the word 'Crown' painted on the wall above the High Level, and expressed the wish that the word should be kept whitewashed to commemorate his visit. An explanation of this word is to be found in a letter in a *Taylorian* of 1881; the writer states that he found the extract he quotes in a history of Charterhouse School: 'One of the most popular games in my day and a little before my time was that of driving

a large number of hoops round the "Green," the walls round which were marked at intervals of about a hundred yards by "inns" bearing the names of signs. One of these, on the east wall of the Upper Green—the Crown—still survives. The tradition among us was to the effect that it was painted by the first Lord Ellenborough when a boy.' The first Lord Ellenborough, whose monument is in Charterhouse Chapel was counsel for Warren Hastings at his trial and afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

There was no ceremonial march from the old buildings to the new one to herald in the new era; the School assembled in their new quarters after the vacation and scarcely realized how complete was the change in the character of the School. The first sign of it was the increase in numbers to five hundred from two hundred and fifty, a fact which is recorded in the memorial tablet to Dr. Baker in the Great Hall. Boarders now entirely disappear except for a few who stayed with certain of the masters.

The staff was increased and such inconveniences as two forms in one room being taught by one master no longer existed. But of more importance was the foundation of the Modern Side. French was more carefully studied throughout the School and it was now possible for those who wished, to study German instead of Greek. As soon as the Modern Side was in full operation the first Modern monitor was appointed, but it is interesting to notice that it was some time before he was allowed to sit at the monitors' Table. It will be observed that science was not as yet included in the curriculum.

Far more important, however, than these changes, more important even than the abandoning of top hats and tail coats, was the change of spirit in the School and the birth of a corporate sense. At Suffolk Lane there had been practically no out-of-school activities,

but from the outset at Charterhouse Square there seems to have been a great desire to form societies and clubs. It was the same spirit which induced far more to take part in games and it was this keenness on the part of the School which persuaded the Company to support the games as a necessary part of Public School education.

In the same year that the school was opened the Choral Society was founded by the Rev. J. A. L. Airey, who, later, in 1900, wrote the School Song. It was not for some years that the Song became recognized and popular; this was probably because the original tune, excellent as it was, was too elaborate and complicated for its purpose. The Choral Society, nevertheless, kept it alive by placing it at the head of their programme at their annual concert, and when the present tune was written the Song at once established itself. Few who have passed through the School since can forget it. The Choral Society has given an annual concert ever since it was founded, except during the Great War, and helped to some extent to provide the musical education which the Public Schools Commissioners thought desirable. The School orchestra, which was founded at the same time, after a few years disappeared, but was resuscitated in 1921, and has performed at the annual concerts ever since.

The next event that witnessed to the new spirit was the publication of the first number of the *Taylorian* in 1878. The first School magazine of any kind to appear was *The Hive*, which appeared in 1808. It is described on the first page as a Periodical written by the boys of Merchant Taylors' School who boarded with the Rev. H. B. Wilson, one of the masters. It was published in manuscript and contained very learned and uninteresting essays, criticisms of sermons and poems. This was published for two years and then disappeared. In

1830 there appeared a magazine called *The Merchant Taylors' Miscellany*, conducted by Marmaduke Mapletoft, Esq., and although this was not a School magazine as we conceive one, yet it was a step in the right direction. After this there appeared, in 1833, the *Merchant Taylors' Magazine* which, although still not a chronicle of School events, was less heavy in content. In June 1834, the editors of the Magazine left, and the Magazine ceased to appear, which shows that it was in reality no more than the enterprise of one or two. In 1849 it was revived, and was from the start far more of a School magazine than any previous one, containing articles on famous O.M.T.'s and the history of the School. But it only lasted for a year, and from 1850 to 1878 no magazine of any description appeared. The first number of the *Taylorian*, published in October, 1878, contained detailed reports of School activities, especially of football and cricket, besides articles on subjects connected with the School, and has set the standard for all subsequent issues. The *Taylorian* has continued to appear regularly ever since, the jubilee number was issued last year, and it means much to everyone, not only to Merchant Taylors' still at School, but also to the Old Boys scattered all over the world.

By the end of 1878 there were School clubs for Rugby, cricket, fives and boating, all of them efficiently organized and having fixtures with other schools and clubs. Rugby and cricket matches were at first played on the grass at Charterhouse Square which, although not large enough, was preferable to playing on fields where the outfield was common ground for two or three matches in progress at the same time. In 1886, however, the Company obtained a ground at Willesden Green, which was henceforth used jointly by the School and the Old Merchant Taylors' Football Club, which had been founded in 1882.

The Old Boys' Club deserves more than a passing notice because in a very few years it rose to be one of the most famous clubs in England. It has provided, together with the School, many 'blues' and internationals and one captain of the England team. The Old Boys' Cricket Club was not formed till some years later, when in 1912 it took over the fixtures of The Goblins, a wandering team composed of Old Boys, which had been in existence two years.

As we have seen, some open fives courts were provided on the new site and in 1878 the School played its first match, against Christ's College, Finchley. Fives soon came to be a very popular game, and in 1897 the Company gave the School two covered courts to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee. In 1926, when the new Science School was built, the original open courts had to be demolished, but in their place the Company built two more covered courts, which were opened early in 1928.

Boating had always been a favourite pastime among the members of the School, but it was not till 1878 that the School Boating Club was formed. In that year a boat was entered at the Bedford Regatta, and having the misfortune to be drawn against Bedford Grammar School in the first round, was beaten by two and a half lengths after losing a length through a bad start. Fixtures were arranged in the same year with Christ's Hospital. The Boating Club has now, together with a number of other clubs founded at this time, disappeared, but it has left to us, as a grand-child, the annual swimming sports; they were first organized by the Swimming Club which was started by members of the Boating Club.

Athletics were still as popular as ever and the annual sports were now held at Charterhouse Square, with the exception of the steeplechase. Why the athletic sports

came to be held at Charterhouse Square is not clear, especially as the Willesden Green ground very soon became available, for the course was dangerous and not at all conducive to record making feats. Except for the hundred yards and the steeplechase they are still held there late in the Easter Term.

In 1879 the School Debating Society was formed under the presidency of F. S. Marvin, and by the end of the century there was a Natural History Club, a Photographic Club, a Cycling Club, and a Lawn Tennis Club. A Chess Club had also been formed and entered a team for the Inter-School competition of 1899 which succeeded in tying for first place. Of these clubs only the Photographic and the Chess Club now exist as distinct clubs, both of them having been revived recently.

By far the most important enterprise undertaken by the School at this time was the establishment of the School Mission, which was founded in Shacklewell as the result of a meeting held in 1890. The Mission owes its inception to Dr. Baker, who thought that the School ought to undertake some such piece of work. The importance of the Mission and the work achieved in it cannot be overestimated. The first Mission buildings were opened in the same year by the Bishop of London, but as early as 1897 the establishment had outgrown its home and a large room was built for club purposes. The Mission Church of St. Barnabas was not erected till 1910. It is built in the Byzantine style, of brick, with a reinforced cement barrel roof, and is capable of holding over four hundred people. It was designed by Professor C. H. Reilly, an Old Boy, and is acknowledged to be one of the finest modern churches in London. The church was dedicated in 1910 by the Bishop of London, at which ceremony Dr. Baker was present to see begun this next great stage in the history of the Mission which he had

founded. A further step forward was taken a few months ago when in May, 1929, the Mission district was turned into a parish and the church was consecrated as the Parish Church of St. Barnabas, Shackwell, by the same Bishop of London who had dedicated it in 1910.

In 1899 the Boer War broke out, and naturally affected the School in a number of ways. We find many Old Boys volunteering for service in South Africa, and among them Sir Frederick Treves and Sir Alfred Fripp, who were sent out as surgeons to the Forces. Of these, seven were killed, and a memorial tablet was afterwards placed to their memory in the Great Hall. The other direct effect on the School itself was the establishment in 1900 of a Cadet Company of Volunteer Rifles to be attached to the Rifle Brigade. Shooting was an important part of the training, although it was not till 1912 that the miniature rifle range was erected. The School now has shooting fixtures with other schools, and competes every year in the Ashburton Shield competition. The Old Boys' Rifle Club was later formed to provide a team for the Public School Veterans' Trophy at the Bisley meeting.

The Cadet Company existed until 1908, when, under the Haldane re-organization it became a part of the junior division of the Officers' Training Corps. Upon the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 many members of the School, past and present, were given commissions on the strength of their training in the School O.T.C.

The relief of Mafeking provoked an interesting incident at the School, which was fully reported in the *Graphic* of that week. The whole School rushed hatless from Charterhouse Square and made for the Mansion House. When they had given vociferous indications there of their excitement and jubilation they formed into an orderly column and marched to Whitehall, where they

finally commandeered a number of buses. Fortunately everyone was in a similar state of excitement and no objection was taken to this unruly mob of hatless schoolboys, who when their excitement had waned returned quietly to the school. Whether permission had been given to make this public demonstration we do not know, but if not, it is probable that the Mafeking feeling had seized masters and boys alike. It is an interesting event as showing how the relief of Mafeking freed the whole nation from their anxiety, even schoolboys who are not generally supposed to take public misfortunes much to heart.

The year 1900 was to be an eventful one for the School for other reasons. It saw the purchase of the new sports ground at Bellingham, which had become essential now that the majority of the School took part in games. The ground covered about thirteen acres and was to prove large enough for a good many years; the labours of a quarter of a century have brought the turf to a rare state of perfection.

In the same year two stained-glass windows were placed in the Hall in honour of two of the School's most famous scholars—Bishop Andrewes and Edmund Spenser. No one has called in question the School's claim upon Andrewes, but the doubt about Spenser must be the justification for this digression. In the account book of a Robert Nowell, who was brother of Dean Nowell of St. Paul's, there is an entry, in 1568, to the effect that a free gown was given to one Edmund Spenser of Merchant Taylors' School; and under April 28, 1569, we read 'to Edmund Spensore, schollere of the M'chante tayler scholl at his gowinge to penbrocke hall in chambridge, Xs.' On May 20th, the poet Spenser was admitted as a sizar at Pembroke Hall. We seem therefore to be justified in claiming Spenser as an Old

Merchant Taylor. The two windows show full length figures of Andrewes and Spenser, and beneath these are two small scenes; that below Andrewes shows him preaching before James I, while the other depicts Spenser at the height of his fame being presented to Queen Elizabeth.

The year 1900 also saw the retirement of Dr. Baker, who had been Headmaster since 1870 and had served the School well during a very difficult period. He was one of a circle of great Headmasters who adorned the latter half of the nineteenth century—Ridding at Winchester, Warre at Eton, Temple at Rugby, Haig-Brown at Charterhouse, and Percival at Clifton. He had been in charge of the School at the time of the move from Suffolk Lane, and had been wise and bold enough to seize the chance to abolish habits and traditions which would hinder the School in its progress. He was the first Headmaster to appreciate the full importance of games in School life, and yet while encouraging them he had not allowed work to be neglected. During the last twenty-five years of his Headmastership the School had stood at the head of all the schools in England for the number of scholarships it obtained to the universities, compared with the number of its scholars. In these years the School obtained three hundred and fifty-seven scholarships, one hundred and fifty-two Firsts, twenty-two fellowships and one hundred and five university scholarships and prizes. It was a record of which he might well be proud, and so may we; but perhaps his most permanent memorial is the affection so often expressed by his old pupils. All that the School owes him is to be found in the history of its progress from 1870 to 1900. He continued to take an interest in the School life, and especially in the School Mission, till

his death in 1910, shortly after the Mission Church was dedicated. He was the supreme justification of the Company's hopes when they decided as far as possible to appoint Old Boys as Headmasters.

Dr. Baker was succeeded by John Arbuthnot Nairn, who was to tide the School over one of the most trying periods, not only in its own history but also in that of England. Very shortly after his appointment the last stage in the development of the School curriculum was accomplished by the division of the Modern Side into a Modern Side for the study of modern languages, and a Science Side for the study of science, which till this time had not formed part of the curriculum. A large science building was erected at the north-west corner of the quadrangle, containing laboratories and classrooms, and this was again enlarged in 1907. Close upon this enlargement came the foundation of the Science and the Chemical Societies. The study of science was further encouraged by the building in 1926 of another science school on the north side of the playground where the open fives courts originally stood. The foundation stone of this building was laid by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, assisted by the Bishop of Chelmsford, an Old Boy, in the presence of a large number of visitors, on July 8, 1926, just over fifty years after the Prince's grandfather, when himself Prince of Wales, had opened the new school. The buildings were ready for use by the middle of the next year and consisted of laboratories, classrooms and a fine lecture hall. The first lecture in this hall was given in June 1927, by Sir Frank Dyson, the Astronomer Royal, upon the solar eclipse of that year.

In 1907 the Company decided to place a tablet in the Great Hall to the memory of another of the School's most famous scholars, Lord Clive. It was very fitting

that the School should be the first to pay him some of the honour which had long been due to him. The tablet was unveiled by Lord Curzon, who had recently returned from his Viceroyalty of India, and was raising money to erect memorials both here and in India to Clive. The tablet bears the following inscription:

ROBERT LORD CLIVE.

Born 29 September 1725, M.T.S. 1737-9. Died 22 Nov. 1779. Entering the service of the East India Company as a civilian he outshone all his contemporaries in military genius and by his victory at Plassey in 1757 laid the foundation of the British Empire in India. Twice governor of Fort William in Bengal he won the love of the native peoples and left the administration pure.

In 1909 yet another society was formed in the School, despite the failure of many previous ones to outlast the first enthusiasm of their founders. In this year the School Archæological Museum was started, but membership at first seems to have been very limited, and the Society did not flourish until in 1919 it was entirely reorganized and formed into a School society in fact as well as in name. The Museum, as at the society's inception, is still its chief glory and contains several hundred exhibits, which have either been purchased from members' subscriptions or presented by Old Boys themselves, or by other museums and societies through the help of Old Boys. The scope of the society is now, as was the intention of the original founders, from the dawn of history to the Middle Ages, with special reference to Greek and Roman archæology. This book, however, represents an incursion into post-mediæval history, for which we do not feel called upon to apologize.

There is after this nothing of note to record until the summer vacation of 1914, during which the Great War broke out. The 5th London Rifle Brigade was billeted

in the Hall during the vacation, while the Reserve Battalion of the Brigade continued to drill in the playground during term until drafted to France. On August 7, the Old Boys held a meeting at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, and as a result two hundred men began training at once and were soon drafted into different units of the British Expeditionary Force.

As was natural, the War affected every sphere of School life, and the *Taylorian* from this time to the end of the war is almost entirely devoted to matters connected with the war and their effect on the School. The staff became depleted and senior members of the School left to enlist. There was no annual concert or gymnasium display, and Speech Day was a merely formal affair unaccompanied by any of the usual ceremonies. There were far fewer football and cricket fixtures; the athletic sports were held but only as a private affair for the boys themselves. On the other hand, everyone was anxious to excel in the O.T.C., and its efficiency increased, although its original officers had long since gone abroad. The *Taylorian* soon ceased to appear twice a term owing to the great increase in the expense of producing it, and until the end of 1918 there were only three issues a year. The School Club cancelled its half-yearly dinner from the beginning of 1915, and instead sent a pipe and a pouch, some cigarettes and chocolate to every Old Boy on active service. The School itself carried on its ordinary work despite great difficulties, whilst almost every day added another name to the list of Old Boys who had died. The buildings were exposed to numerous air-raids, but fortunately were never hit.

As soon as the war was over, a War Memorial Fund was opened by the Old Boys, and a large sum of money was readily subscribed which was used in a number of ways. The Court provided scholarships at the School

for the sons of Old Boys who had been killed; it was further decided to place a mural memorial at the school and another at the Mission Church; and with the rest to purchase a sports ground for the Old Merchant Taylors' Sports Club. The War Memorial Ground at Teddington was opened on November 25, 1922, by Lord Cave, then Lord Chancellor, who had been at the School when it was at Suffolk Lane; it provides accommodation for rugby, cricket and tennis, with an excellent pavilion and clubhouse.

The memorial at the school consists of three large teak panels with the names of three hundred and nine Old Boys and five Masters inscribed on them. It is placed at the head of the south staircase to the Great Hall and was unveiled by the Master of the Company on Speech Day, 1923. The centre panel is devoted to a quotation from Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*, and read as follows:

'Soe have I thought good to sett downe a remembraunce of them for myne own good that whoe so list to overlooke them may followe after with more ease and happily finde a fayrer waye than they which have gone before.'

While at the head of the left panel, from the *Faerie Queen*:

'Nought is more honorable to a knight
Than to defend the feeble in their right.'

and at the head of the right panel, from the *Prothalamion*:

'Faire branch of honor, flower of chevalrie
Joy have thou of thy noble victorie.'

Besides these memorials, another was placed in the pavilion at Bellingham, which is perhaps holier than any. It is about the size of the top of the monitors' Table and is carved with the names of those who died, but the names were not professionally carved. Relatives and friends of those who had died were invited to come to the School

and carve the name of their dead. A large number availed themselves of this opportunity and the remainder were carved by members of the School. It now hangs appropriately enough in the School pavilion, in which many of those now dead had prepared for matches; it may not be a work of art for the world to look at, yet it is, in a very real sense, the School's own memorial and the head monitor goes to Bellingham on Armistice Day every year to hang a wreath upon it.

From the end of the war to Dr. Nairn's retirement in December 1926, there were two events of importance, the laying of the foundation stone of the new science school in 1926, which has been described, and the institution of the House system in 1921. The system was at first tried in order to facilitate the arrangement of athletic fixtures inside the School, and proved so successful that the system was soon extended to include other spheres of activity. Four houses were formed and named, two after famous Old Boys, Spenser and Clive, and the other two after Richard Hilles and Sir Thomas White, who were mainly responsible for the foundation of the School.

We have written this short history primarily for members of the School, whether past or present, and they, we know, will forgive us the prejudices we display. To school historians there is never any school but one. We have been compelled to hang our history upon the names of the Headmasters, but we would not wish to imply by that that the history of a school is the history of its headmasters. It is the product and result of hundreds of lives, lived in obscure labour, and often leaving no visible memorial of their work. We in this latest age acknowledge hereby our debt to those men and boys whom we cannot name, and by whose 'concord small

things have become great'; and with that last word we would lay aside the pen for others at a later time to resume, confident that the School will never fail to produce those who will be proud to continue her story.

- 1561. Richard Mulcaster.
- 1586. Henry Wilkinson. O.M.T. (?)
- 1592. Edmund Smith. O.M.T.
- 1599. William Hayne. O.M.T.
- 1625. Nicolas Gray.
- 1632. John Edwards. O.M.T.
- 1634. William Staple. O.M.T.
- 1644. William Dugard.
- 1650. John Stevens. (February to September)
- 1669. John Goad. O.M.T.
- 1681. John Hartecliffe.
- 1686. Ambrose Bonwicke. O.M.T.
- 1691. Matthew Shortyng.
- 1707. Thomas Parsell. O.M.T.
- 1720. Matthew Smith. O.M.T.
- 1730. John Criche. O.M.T.
- 1760. James Townley. O.M.T.
- 1778. Thomas Green. O.M.T.
- 1783. Samuel Bishop. O.M.T.
- 1795. Thomas Cherry. O.M.T.
- 1819. James William Bellamy. O.M.T.
- 1845. James Augustus Hessey. O.M.T.
- 1870. William Baker. O.M.T.
- 1901. John Arbuthnot Nairn.
- 1927. Spencer Leeson.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHARTERHOUSE

THE most cursory inspection of the London Charterhouse shows that it is a building of remarkable and composite character. The visitor notices structures of many different periods, apparently serving many different purposes, mixed together with an extraordinary disregard for his convenience in understanding them. To explain these buildings by the information which they themselves afford, to derive the history of the London Charterhouse, like that of some Chaldean palace or Breton megalith, from archæological evidence alone, would be a task of great difficulty. Fortunately, however, there are documents preserved in the Public Record Office, in the Charterhouse Muniment Room and elsewhere which come to our relief.

The history of the Charterhouse falls into three great periods. A chapel of 1349 was in 1371 incorporated in a monastery of the Carthusian Order. The monastery continued on the same site between Smithfield and Clerkenwell until its suppression in 1537. After a few years of neglect while the estate was in the hands of the Crown, the second period commenced and from 1545 to 1611 the Charterhouse was a great private mansion. In 1611 the property was bought by Thomas Sutton who made provision for a 'Hospital of King James' for the support of deserving old men and for the education of the young. To his foundation the Charterhouse still belongs.

The three stages in the development of the Charter-



A CORNER OF THE OLD CHARTERHOUSE

house may almost serve as microcosms of the mediæval, Renaissance, and modern phases of Western civilization. The monastery, the mansion, and the hospital-school embodied many phenomena typical of their times and moreover were directly connected with men who exercised a considerable influence on the course of European history in their respective periods.

The site of the Charterhouse lies a few hundred yards from the former course of the walls of London and was at the time of Edward III's accession an uncultivated and uninhabited piece of land. The natural use of waste land immediately adjoining a human settlement is to provide a place of sport for the community. The princes of the Odyssey were accustomed to lead their people to level places near their palaces that they might run and jump and wrestle, while the abundance of English hamlets called Plaistow tells the same story. The field in front of a camp and the level meadow at the head of an Alpine lake are obviously intended to serve the same purpose at the present day. The site which we are considering was therefore employed, until the middle of the fourteenth century, as a ground for bowls and horseracing and other forms of sport. In times of pestilence, however, the fields surrounding a town or village acquire a new and more terrible significance and the places that saw the activity of the living are given over to the repose of the dead. The bubonic epidemic of 1348 and 1349 turned the Charterhouse site into a cemetery on which a small chapel was erected. It is a suggestive history stretching far back and reaching far forward. The monastery carries us back to St. Bruno and St. Benedict and behind them to the early Christian coenobites of Egypt, and further back even than that in the story of asceticism; while the first chapel reminds us that it was the Black Death and the shortness of labour

consequent upon it, that broke up the communal system of agriculture and helped to kill feudalism.

The founder of this cemetery chapel was a certain Sir Walter de Manny, who developed a plan for establishing some monks, preferably of the Carthusian Order, upon the site to pray for him, for his wife, his ancestors and heirs, and moreover for the souls of those buried in *Newe Church Hawe*, as the place was then called. In the year of the next severe incidence of plague, 1361, Manny entered into an agreement on this subject with 'the Reverend Father in God Dan Michael de Borthburg by the Grace of God Bishop of London.' A delay, however, was caused by the death of the bishop from plague in the same year; the monastery was ultimately created a decade later by the activity of the Prior of Hinton, one of the three Carthusian establishments already existing in England, and was stocked with monks selected from all those institutions. Manny died in 1372 and was buried in the chapel of his new foundation. A fragment of his tomb, built into the walls of the Tudor mansion, has been discovered and placed in the chapel in recent times.

It is difficult to imagine actual monastic life, as we now see it in the hospice of the Great St. Bernard and other well-known continental communities, existing day by day in the hollow dale of Rievaulx or beside the common at Beeston Regis, but there is a double difficulty in conceiving the conventual purpose of a building which has been entirely readapted to other and secular uses. The visitor to the Charterhouse must endeavour to associate the mediaeval remains still to be seen there with the history and rule of the Carthusian Order. This Order was founded late in the eleventh century by St. Bruno of Cologne, who, after personal experience of the Benedictine rule and in his desire for an even stricter

austerity, placed his new settlement in the hills near Grenoble. He also established a monastery in Calabria. Chartreuse, the name of the original site in Dauphiné, was reproduced in the language of Calabria as Certosa and afterwards in the language of Smithfield as Charterhouse. The Order of Bruno has since its inception set up a large number of houses in many different parts of the world. The general topographical features of these monasteries are six in number—the great cloister, the church, the refectory, the chapterhouse, the little cloister, and the guesthouse. To these we may add the fish ponds, the gardens and the orchards. The great cloister is the dwelling-place of the monks each of whom occupies a cell, that is, a detached cottage, usually (and probably in the London Charterhouse) of two storeys, standing in its own garden plot. The number of monks, excluding the prior, is commonly twelve, twenty-four, or thirty-six but is sometimes greater. In the London establishment, the number was twenty-four, and the great cloister surrounded the open space which is now used by Merchant Taylors' School. The church of a Carthusian monastery consists usually of a choir only, divided into two portions with separate entrances, one for the monks, the other for the lay brothers. The chapel of 1349 was of this kind, and is represented by the south aisle of the present building. Whether, as in many churches of this order, a gallery was erected for the accommodation of strangers, is uncertain. The refectory or frater is, like the church, frequently bisected by a partition to separate the monks from the lay brothers. According to the Carthusian rule, the former community only uses the refectory on Sundays and feast days. The frater in London was originally in the south-west part of the great cloister, but in the important alterations of the early sixteenth century a larger refectory was constructed.

This building has developed into the Great Hall of the hospital of Sutton's foundation. It has been suggested that, during the later years of the monastery, the early frater was assigned to the lay brothers. The chapterhouse of a Carthusian establishment is used for the election of priors, for the admission of new monks, and for addresses by the prior. In the example which we are describing it stood on the east side of the church. On the west of the little cloister stand the quarters of the lay brothers and the places where they brew, bake, cook, fish and do the other work of the monastery. These quarters still exist in the washhouse court of the Charterhouse. The guesthouse is believed to have been on the east side of the little cloister.

Before we proceed to the life of a Carthusian monastery, in so far as it is controlled by the rule, it is important to emphasize the fact that there were, and are, three very distinct kinds of men in it. The monks themselves, the inhabitants of the cloister who are subject to full vows, have undergone a long probation, which may not be commenced before the age of eighteen years. A second class is formed by the *conversi*, the lay brothers, who are bound by vows of a less comprehensive character; they do not, for example, require the prior's leave to pass the walls of the monastery. Finally there are the *donati*. These men are merely servants, engaged by the same kind of contract as any other servants, and entirely free from vows. Indeed, Charterhouse Square formerly contained a flesh kitchen called 'Egypt' where the *donati* could obtain that carnal refreshment which was denied them within the convent walls.

Apart from costume, we may group the distinctive discipline of the Carthusian life under the four heads of worship, speech, food, and the exclusion of women. On ordinary days the monks, each of whom is an

ordained priest, pay three visits to the church. The first of these takes place about 6.45 a.m. for the celebration of High Mass. Afterwards the monks perform their private masses in the chapels of the church, working in pairs, celebrant and server. The monks return to their cells about 9 a.m. The hour following 3 p.m. is also spent in the church, when vespers and the office of the dead are recited. At midnight the monks assemble in the church for the third time when another service, consisting of several portions and lasting for about two hours, is performed. Besides these services in the church, the monk says other offices in his cell during the course of the day. We may here mention that the monk sleeps approximately from 5.15 to 10.45 p.m. and from 2.15 to 5.45 a.m., and that those portions of his waking life which are spent neither in worship nor in eating are employed for meditation, reading, manual labour and gardening. In the second activity governed by the rule, that of speech, the difference between the life of the convent and that of the world is most prominent. The silence of the monk is broken only twice a week, except for chanting in church. One day in the week a walk of about three hours outside the walls gives an opportunity for conversation, while the monks may also talk on Sundays between the first meal and vespers, a time of four hours or more. To these occasions we may add those on which the monk is visited by the prior or vicar or summoned by one of them to the parlour. Thirdly, the Carthusian has two daily meals, one at ten in the morning in summer, and at eleven in winter, the other at half past four in the afternoon. From September 14 to Easter Eve, however, the second meal is of a meagre character. These meals are always without flesh meat, which, like women, is not allowed inside the monastery. The monks, however, have a considerable variety of

animal food—milk, cheese, eggs, and also all kinds of fish, for their abstention from flesh is a purely religious practice and is quite unconnected with any Oriental notions concerning the sanctity of animal life. They eat, in addition, fruit and vegetables and bread, and drink the beverage of the country—wine in the South, beer in England and other northern regions. In modern times the Carthusian order, so far from adopting Samuel Butler's theory that the discovery of tobacco was providentially delayed until after the time of St. Paul in order to prevent its apostolic condemnation, has forbidden its use. It has also rejected the stimulants of the tea and coffee group. Finally, no female of the human species is admitted within the borders of the convent except under a dispensation of a special character. A very important and probably unique exception to this rule obtained in the London Charterhouse from 1371 to 1405. The conventual church had formerly been a cemetery chapel in which women were free to pray for the souls of the dead and, for fear of the mob, it was not found practicable entirely to exclude them on the foundation of the monastery. They were still admitted to portions of the church until thirty-five years later, when the Carthusian rule was applied in all its rigour.

The Charterhouse was not the first conventual building to be erected on the waste ground to the north of London. The priories of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, and of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, were both two and a half centuries old in the time of Manny. The open spaces in this neighbourhood were thus considerably curtailed by monasteries by the time that the Charterhouse had been erected. At the same time, that is, during the last part of the fourteenth century, a popular movement, associated with the names of John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, began to attack many features

of the established order, temporal and spiritual. One of the grievances to which they attracted attention was this use of public playing fields for monastic buildings. They claimed that the land between London and Islington was properly common ground, to be used for the sport of the apprentices and other inhabitants of the city. This doctrine found concrete expression in riots directed against the houses that encumbered the disputed fields and the Charterhouse, during the thirty or more years which elapsed between its foundation and completion, was constantly threatened with destruction. Although no very substantial damage seems to have been inflicted on this particular monastery, Jack Straw demolished the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem during the rising of 1381 and the mob terrified the Carthusians sufficiently to prevent the rigorous application of their rule of the complete exclusion of women. The monastic authorities liked the vicinity of sport as little as the populace liked the monasteries. On account of the nature of the surrounding neighbourhood, the provincial visitors of 1405 deprived the London monks of the weekly walk outside the walls, a privilege found in all Carthusian monasteries. Some twenty years later the visitors found another cause of complaint, which may also be ascribed to the festive character of the district. They condemned the practice of the monastery servants in wearing parti-coloured clothes, even when they accompanied the prior and procurator, who were now the only monks allowed to go outside the walls. Thus the Charterhouse was so truly surrounded by the world that the world desired to pull it down, while its visitors feared that the monks might be corrupted by the world.

Throughout the fifteenth century the wealth of the monastery was rapidly increasing. Many of the wills of prominent citizens of the time included bequests to this

House of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The testators often indicated the manner in which their gifts were to be spent, for example, in supplementing the dinners of the monks, while one benefactor of 1445 left the Charterhouse a cask of red wine. It has sometimes been considered remarkable that property should so rapidly have been accumulated during the Middle Ages by many communities whose individual members had all abjured the possession of worldly goods. The astonishment is that of an age without a strong sense of sin and punishment. It was not unnatural that a man, in exercising his right of disposing of his property after his death, should devote the whole or some part of it to his own future welfare. Many mediaeval Englishmen believed themselves to have merited by their moral conduct a purgatory of torment, and they held this belief with an intensity not easily intelligible to-day. From this purgatory they must be delivered by the Christian atonement, to be rendered more efficacious by the masses and prayers of the living. The soldiers and civilians who endowed monastic institutions believed that by so doing they were really and literally promoting their comfort and well-being in the world to come. Of all the orders, the Carthusians were perhaps most strictly bound by their constitution to pray for the dead in general and for their benefactors especially, and most colleges and schools of pre-Reformation foundation contain in their original statutes, injunctions to pray for the souls of their benefactors and benefactors' relations also.

One of the men who helped to destroy this system of belief was Erasmus, and one of his most celebrated English friends was Thomas More. Both are connected with the London Charterhouse; the former described in his writings how the latter lived near that establishment from 1499 to 1503 in order to share the

religious practices of the monks. The year in which More began to attend the services at the Charterhouse was also the year in which William Tynbygh became prior. While he held office and during the time of the two priors who succeeded him before the end, extensive structural alterations and additions were made in the monastery. The simple convent of the fourteenth century was so enlarged and adorned that comparatively little work was required to transform it, after the Suppression, into an elaborate mansion. Tynbygh, from whose priorate almost all of the fifteenth century work probably dates, was an Irishman, who is recorded to have travelled extensively in his youth and to have experienced crude miracles of the kind usual among mediæval pilgrims. He resigned his office in the London Charterhouse in 1529 and was succeeded by John Batmanson, who affords another association between the monastery and Erasmus. Batmanson seems to have possessed some reputation as a controversialist, and he engaged in dispute with the Dutchman about the merits of Martin Luther and his doctrines. Erasmus is said to have had no very high opinion of his opponent's skill and logic.

Batmanson's successor was the famous John Houghton. He had been prior of Beauvale, a Carthusian establishment near Gresley in Nottinghamshire, of which substantial remains may still be seen; he succeeded Batmanson as prior in 1531. It was a difficult moment for the Church and for monks; the Reformation was at hand, and the Charterhouse of London was to win itself eternal glory. Our great historian of the Reformation is not in general friendly to monastic establishments; yet he admits (Froude, *History of England*, Ch. IX) that this house 'was perhaps the best ordered in England,' and has himself told the story of the end in a noble passage.

In the previous year Wolsey had died in disgrace,

having failed to secure the papal sentence annulling Henry VIII's marriage with Katharine of Aragon. In 1533 Thomas Cranmer became Primate without professing allegiance to the Pope. Early in 1531, Convocation had acknowledged the Crown as the Supreme Head of the Church of England *quantum per legem Christi licet*. John Houghton was not brought into collision with the new movement until April 1534. One day in that month the Bishop of Lichfield and the Archdeacon of London called, and asked the prior to swear assent to the recent Act of Succession which made Mary Tudor a bastard and Elizabeth a lawful heiress. The visitors refused to accept his protestations of ignorance of the merits of the matter and repeated the question in an assembly of the monks in the chapter-house. Houghton now replied that he was unable to acknowledge that the marriage could thus be annulled. Together with the procurator he was removed to the Tower of London. After a month's imprisonment the captives were persuaded by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London to yield assent to the Act of Succession, and returned to their monastery full of doubts and forebodings for the future. In November the Act of Supremacy was passed by Parliament, and in the spring of 1535 a further Act, requiring suspected persons to assent to the former decree by oath, threatened the consciences of the Carthusians. Houghton called the monks together, explained the danger with which the new Act threatened them and foreseeing what was to come arranged a day of solemn reconciliation on which each monk and each *conversus* asked forgiveness of all the rest severally.

'Thus with unobtrusive nobleness,' Froude continues, 'did these poor men prepare themselves for the end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who in the summer morning

sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean. Nor, in this their hour of trial, were they left without higher comfort. The third day after, the story goes on, was the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and God made known his presence among them. For when the host was lifted up, there came as it were a whisper of air, which breathed upon their faces as they knelt. Some perceived it with the bodily senses; all felt it as it thrilled into their hearts. And then followed a sweet, soft sound of music, at which their venerable father was so moved, God being thus abundantly manifest among them, that he sank down in tears, and for a long time could not continue the service—they all remaining stupified, hearing the melody, and feeling the marvellous effects of it upon their spirits, but knowing neither whence it came nor whither it went. Only their hearts rejoiced as they perceived that God was with them indeed.'

At the end of the month they were tried at Westminster on a charge of denying the royal supremacy—the first and with the exception of Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher, the only recusants.

'Their conduct at the trial (to finish the story in Froude's words), or at least the conduct of Houghton spared all difficulty in securing a conviction. The judges pressed the prior not to show so little wisdom as to maintain his own opinion against the consent of the realm. He replied, that he had resolved originally to imitate the example of his Master before Herod, and say nothing. "But since you urge me," he continued, "that I may satisfy my own conscience and the consciences of these who are present, I will say that our opinion, if it might go by the suffrages of men, would have more witnesses than yours. You can produce on your side but the Parliament of a single kingdom; I, on mine, have the whole Christian world except that kingdom. Nor have you all even of your own people. The lesser part is with you. The majority, who seem to be with you, do but dissemble, to gain favour with the King, or for fear they should lose their honours and dignities.'

'An interval of five days was allowed after the trial. On May 4, the execution took place at Tyburn, under circumstances which marked the occasion with peculiar meaning. The punishment in

cases of high treason was very terrible. The English were a hard, fierce people; and with these poor sufferers the law of the land took its course without alleviation or interference. But another feature distinguished the execution. For the first time in English history, ecclesiastics were brought out to suffer in their habits, without undergoing the previous ceremony of degradation. Thenceforward the world were to know, that as no sanctuary any more should protect traitors, so the sacred office should avail as little.

‘To the last moment escape was left open, if the prisoners would submit. Several members of the council attended them to the closing scene, for a final effect of kindness; but they had chosen their course, and were not to be moved from it. Houghton, as first in rank, had the privilege of dying first. When on the scaffold, in compliance with the usual custom, he spoke a few touching and simple words to the people. “I call to witness Almighty God,” he said, “and all good people, and I beseech you all here present to bear witness for me in the day of judgment, that being here to die, I declare that it is from no obstinate rebellious spirit that I do not obey the King, but because I fear to offend the Majesty of God. Our holy mother the Church has decreed otherwise than the King and the Parliament have decreed, and therefore, rather than disobey the Church, I am ready to suffer. Pray for me, and have mercy on my brethren, of whom I have been the unworthy prior.” He then knelt down, repeating the first few verses of Psalm xxxi, and after a few moments delivered himself to the executioner. The others followed undaunted. As one by one they went to their death, the council, at each fresh horrible spectacle, urged the survivors to have pity on themselves; but they urged them in vain. The faces of these men did not grow pale; their voices did not shake; they declared themselves liege subjects of the King, and obedient children of the Holy Church; “giving God thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth.” All died without a murmur. The stern work was ended with quartering the bodies; and the arm of Houghton was hung up as a bloody sign over the archway of the Charterhouse, to awe the remaining brothers into submission.

‘But the spirit of the old martyrs was in these friars. One of them, like the Theban sister, bore away the honoured relic and buried it; and all resolved to persist in their resigned opposition. Six weeks were allowed them to consider. At the end of that time three more were taken, tried, and hanged; and this still proving ineffectual, Cromwell hesitated to proceed.’

Rather more than six weeks afterwards, Houghton's vicar and his procurator, together with another monk, Sebastian Newdigate, suffered the same death. The last of these men had, when young, been a friend of the King, and Henry is said to have visited Newdigate in the Marshalsea in disguise and urged him not to persevere in his recusancy. All manner of devices were now employed to induce the remaining choir monks and lay brothers to take the oath and in May 1537 twenty of them submitted. In the same month two members of the London community who had been sent to the house at Hull were hanged in chains at York. Four monks and six *conversi* were still recusant. They were thrown into the filth of the Newgate dungeons, where an adopted daughter of Sir Thomas More endeavoured to bring them food and to comfort them. More himself had been beheaded in July, 1535, making jests on the scaffold. While in the Tower he remarked to his daughter, Margaret Roper, on the cheerfulness of the Carthusians whom he saw taken to be executed. Of the wretched prisoners in Newgate, seven died 'by the hand of God' from June 6 to June 16, 1537, one on August 6 and one on September 20. One of the *conversi*, William Horn, survived, was removed to the Tower and was executed at Tyburn in August, 1540.

'So fell the monks of the London Charterhouse, splintered to pieces—for so only could their resistance be overcome—by the iron sceptre and the iron hand which held it. They were, however, alone of their kind. There were many perhaps who wished to resemble them, who would have imitated their example had they dared. But all bent except these.'

We may think that John Houghton, like the old negro in Mr. Galsworthy's story of 'A Hedonist,' was a 'berry silly obstinacious ole man,' but as we are bound to admire the fidelity and courage of that slave, so must we praise

those qualities in the prior who died, in his own words, 'because our Holy Mother the Church hath decreed and appointed otherwise than the King and Parliament hath ordained.' From a political and purely secular point of view, the death of the monks of the Charterhouse formed part of a great series of executions both of Catholics and Protestants, which by the end of Mary's reign had established the fact that an English government may prescribe visible acts, but not the motion of consciences. This fact was recognized in the Elizabethan ecclesiastical legislation.

In describing the monastic buildings which are still to be found at the Charterhouse, it is necessary to distinguish between the work of two different periods. As we have explained above, the first period lasted from the erection of the chapel in 1349 to the completion of the monastery early in the fifteenth century, while a second period of architectural activity came in the sixteenth century under Prior Tynbygh. There is some evidence, not quite conclusive, that the work of 1371 was carried out by Henry Yevele, who was responsible for the roof of Westminster Hall.

The chapel of the Charterhouse consists at the present day of five portions, all of rectangular ground plan: a choir and a north aisle, an outer north aisle added in 1841, a tower to the west of the choir, and a vestibule to the north of the tower. Most of the work belongs to the last three centuries, the period of its use by Sutton's foundation, but remains of earlier date have not been entirely effaced. The choir represents the original chapel of 1349 and its outside walls are believed to be substantially of that date. The windows date from the early part of the sixteenth century; the east window has five lights, and two windows in the south wall three

lights each. In the south-west part of the choir is a blocked fourteenth century doorway. The priory church had two side chapels on the site of the present north aisle and the east wall of this aisle may probably date from late in the fourteenth century. The tower is one of the principal monuments of the monastic work in the early sixteenth century; its date is 1512. With the exception of the buttress on its outer corner and most of the top stage, which are brick, the tower is built of rubble. It has three stages, the lowest being covered with a notable stone vault. The chapter-house, which lay to the east of the chapel, and St. John the Evangelist's chapel, which formerly adjoined the tower on the south, have disappeared, except for part of the fifteenth century east wall of the latter structure, which may be incorporated in the wall of Chapel Court. The nave and its chapels were entirely demolished about 1571. The only mediaeval fittings now to be found in the chapel are a damaged aumbry of the late fourteenth century on the east wall, and the supposed fragment of Manny's tomb already mentioned, unless indeed we include the bell, which is dated 1631, but is believed to have been recast from a bell of 1428.

The general arrangement of the monastery is delineated on a fifteenth-century plan of the water-supply. It shows that the great cloister surrounded the space now constituting the playground of Merchant Taylors' School. The water was conveyed from Barnsbury to an octagonal conduit-house in the centre of this space, from which a pipe ran to each wing of the cloister providing every cell with water in its garden. The remains of the cells are very scanty. On the east side of the green is a steep asphalt bank, adjoining the miniature rifle range of Merchant Taylors' School. At its south end are some stones, built into the wall, which

once formed the doorway of cell V, while the doorway of cell T, on the north side of V, is now completely buried. The lettering of the cells appears to have been as follows, starting from the south-west corner and going round the cloister in a clockwise direction. On the door of each cell in a Carthusian monastery is inscribed, not only its appropriate letter, but also a biblical or patristic text beginning with that letter. The west wing of the cloister was rebuilt during the mansion period of the Charterhouse, being turned into a gallery, surmounted by a terrace, in 1571. The northern part of this gallery contained remains of a cell, which perished with it when the hall of Merchant Taylors' School was erected. The surviving southern portion includes much of the old rubble cloister wall, traces of the doorway and food-hatch of cell A, and of the food-hatches of cells B and C. Parts of the south cloister wall and of the wall between cells P and Q near the north-east angle also survive.

The arch of the outer gatehouse by which the Charterhouse is entered from Charterhouse Square is probably of the fifteenth century. The door of oak which hangs in this archway is ascribed to the early sixteenth century, which is also the date of the red-brick inner gateway in the extreme left-hand corner of the outer court as viewed from the gatehouse.

The Great Hall is in its present condition a work of the mansion period, but it includes a certain amount of monastic work. The windows have all been thoroughly restored. There is a doorway probably of the fifteenth century, north of the screens, while, of the three doorways in the west wall, the central one is ascribed to the sixteenth, and its two neighbours to the preceding century. A doorway in the east wall is decorated with Tudor roses. The wall which runs along the north of the hall, screens and buttery, may belong substantially to



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT

the monastery's late period of building under Tynbygh. The library which adjoins the hall on the north is perhaps the frater of the Carthusians, but it retains no detail of their time. On the top landing of the great staircase are three doorways of attractive workmanship of Perpendicular period. They were apparently taken from monks' cells and reset.

The whole of this rather tedious enumeration of the monastic remains of the London Charterhouse may be summed up by a statement that they are very fragmentary. To this statement there is happily one exception, known as the Washhouse, Lavendry or Poplar Tree Court. Here the visitor may observe a comparatively extensive piece of the additions which were made to the monastery in the century that witnessed its dissolution. The court is surrounded by tiled buildings of brick and of ragstone rubble. They were erected during the early sixteenth century to serve for the 'obediences' of the lay brothers, the places where the baking, cooking, brewing and similar activities of the house were conducted. It may be presumed that the dormitories of the *conversi* were on the upper floor above these offices. The original windows of the buildings, both those looking into Washhouse Court and those in the outer walls, are of stone. The east and west ranges are pierced by a pair of passages or 'slypes' leading into Master's Court and Preacher's Court respectively. The kitchen occupied the north part of the east range and the disused bakehouse adjoins the kitchen on the south. These and other portions of the interior of the buildings round Washhouse Court contain original detail—fireplaces, ceiling-beams, and parts of the staircase.

On November 10, 1537, those monks who had submitted to the Act of Supremacy left the Charterhouse and the monastery with its furniture and fittings lay desolate,

the property of the Crown. All kinds of men who had interest with Thomas Cromwell and other authorities helped themselves to the plate, glass, timber, shrubs and garden stuff, kitchen and buttery stores and other appurtenances of the dismantled Carthusian house. During the few years following, while the place remained in the hands of the Crown, the caretaker was the only authorized inhabitant of its main buildings. Some of the cells, however, were rented out.

⁹¹ In 1542 a new use was found for part of the Charterhouse. It will be remembered that in the early years of the monastery it was attacked by the populace because it was an encroachment upon their playground. The Finsbury district still retained its sportive character in the sixteenth century and the King, himself a great lover of games, began to use the abandoned Charterhouse as a store for his hunting nets, assigning two of his servants to reside there and take care of his property. After three years of such employment, Henry Tudor's hunting gear was transferred to another desolate convent in the fields, the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Charterhouse passed into the possession of Sir Edward North. The letters patent, which effected this change and thereby introduced the second period of the London Charterhouse, are dated April 14, 1545. From this date until 1611 it was a private mansion.

Its first owner was Edward North. He trimmed his sails to any wind; first being involved in the Duke of Northumberland's plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, then giving secret allegiance to Mary Tudor, who on her accession made him a baron. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Lord North received the new queen at the Charterhouse when she first entered London, a week after her sister's death. Elizabeth left Hatfield Palace, and rode towards the capital. When at High-

gate she reached the last of the clay hills that guard London on the north, she was met by the Bishops. As she pursued her way across the flats of Islington, the road was found to be very bad; so the party left the highway and, proceeding across the fields, went into the Charterhouse at the back. On the following day, Elizabeth received her subjects in the Tapestry Room, now the Great Chamber. There she met the Conde de Feria, who brought proposals of marriage from Philip II, and began to prepare him for her refusal. A few days later she left the mansion. North died in 1564, and the next day his son sold the London Charterhouse to Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk. Among North's descendants was the Minister of George III, to whom it is usual to impute the responsibility for the loss of the American colonies. The blame, however, should more properly rest on his master.

The family of Howard, to various members of which the Charterhouse belonged from 1565 to 1611, has its monuments widely distributed among all kinds of English institutions. Two examples may be selected from a large number equally familiar. Every traveller who proceeds to the south-western corner of Sussex, to Chichester or Bognor or Selsey, by the railway train through the Arun Valley, sees the great castle of the Howards (largely, but not entirely, of recent date) standing on the hillside at Arundel. Again, all worthy anthologies of English verse containing a poem entitled 'Description of Spring, wherein each thing renews, save only the Lover' by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. This nobleman, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1546, was the father of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who bought the Charterhouse on Lord North's death. Thomas, at twenty-two years of age and as Earl Marshal and premier peer of England, had visited the Charter-

house on the occasion of Elizabeth's accession. The Queen paid him a visit in his new mansion in August 1568. Norfolk was already being mentioned as a potential husband of Mary Stuart and a year later Elizabeth, advised by William Cecil, warned him at Hampton Court against treason. In October 1569 he was committed to the Tower, having been implicated in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the Queen of Scots from the manor house of Wingfield in Derbyshire.

These events afford a good example of a principle which rarely receives sufficient emphasis—that almost the only way to make history at all convincing is by the fusion of biography, found in books, with archæology and the study of buildings. Consider personal impressions of the Tower, standing squarely between the Minories and the river; of the Charterhouse, with its brickwork faintly flushed by the fog-filtered light of a winter sun that hangs like a tangerine among the black twigs of the plane-trees; of Hampton Court on a summer evening, the martins' nests in the boss of a gateway vault, and the Thames flowing always; of Wingfield manor house surrounded by grass and sheep and autumn foliage with a west wind hindering the traveller who walks from the blackness of Alfreton to the limestone summit of Crich. To memories of these four buildings add facts about the lives of Thomas Howard, as a central, and of Elizabeth, Mary and Cecil as subsidiary figures and our dull minds may begin to believe—or they may not.

In 1570, on account of plague in Tower Hamlets, Norfolk was allowed to come back to the Charterhouse and, although he was technically still in custody, he enjoyed considerable freedom of action. The following year the Ridolfi plot was developed in the house. Ridolfi himself was a Florentine by nationality, a banker by

profession and an incompetent conspirator. The attempt which bears his name was supported in the background by the Pope and the King of Spain. The Netherlands and England, the two countries in which the Protestant religion was politically militant, were to be subdued at the same time—the first by Alva, the second by the deposition of Elizabeth and the marriage of Norfolk with Mary Stuart. But Cecil's spies were everywhere and, as usual, he was acquainted with the conspiracy long before it became at all dangerous to Elizabeth, and in September, 1571, Norfolk was taken to the Tower. He confessed and was beheaded in June, 1572.

His eldest son, Philip, Earl of Arundel, never used the Charterhouse, and it was let for some years to the Portuguese Ambassador, who had mass celebrated there and received Englishmen to the services. A lively incident occurred in connection with this in 1576, when the Recorder and Sheriffs of London came one Sunday to seize the English recusants. After a squabble with the porter, in which that worthy son of Portugal shut the Recorder's leg in the gates, the party found that mass was being celebrated in the Long Gallery, later split up into separate rooms in the Master's and Registrar's Houses. A general tumult ensued, in which swords and rapiers were drawn but no harm was done. When the confusion subsided, the Recorder gallantly conducted the ladies to their rooms and persuaded the foreign men to disperse, arresting the Englishmen only. The Spanish Ambassador, who was also present, conducted the Recorder to the gate with great courtesy, but declined his invitation to dinner. The two ambassadors afterwards protested most vigorously against this infringement of their privilege, and Elizabeth made apologies and ordered the Recorder to be committed.

From Arundel's attainder in 1589 until 1601 the estate of Howard House lay forfeit in the hands of the Crown, but it was let to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, for a few years about 1595. The tenant was a picturesque, brave and unfortunate sailor, who served with distinction against the Armada, captured a colossal treasure on the Spanish Main and lost it by wreck, and was celebrated for other adventures of a similar character. Two Spanish grandees whom he had captured lived in the house for several months, waiting for their ransom.

In 1601 Elizabeth granted the 'Capital Messuage called Howard House alias Charterhouse,' to Thomas Howard, the famous Admiral who commanded against the Armada; and in January 1603 the queen visited the Charterhouse for the fourth time. She had not many more months to live. Almost half a century had passed since the muddy day when Elizabeth, twenty-five years old and a few days a queen, had come down the hill at Highgate and ridden across the fields to the mansion that had been a priory at the time of her birth. In another four months the son of the woman whom she had feared for years and had slain at last was riding across the same fields as King of England. It was May, and James also had left the road because it was too dusty, so that he also entered the mansion at the back on his arrival at his capital. The king stayed four nights, and enjoyed most wonderful banquets. Precisely eight years after his visit, Suffolk sold Howard House to Thomas Sutton.

Whatever the sins and virtues of North and the Howards may have been, they deserve to be remembered, in our time, for embedding a small jewel in what is now the hideous toad's head of London. It is difficult to date much of the work of the Charterhouse with any degree of accuracy, but the fourth Duke of Norfolk

appears to be the principal creditor of the modern city in respect of the beauty of his mansion. We proceed to describe the more important changes effected in the former conventual establishment between the suppression and 1611 but it is not possible to split the work up to correspond with the changes in ownership. The chapel appears to have been neglected during the mansion period and its present condition must be considered later, as part of the work of Sutton's foundation. In 1571, the year of the Ridolfi plot, the west range of the great cloister was rebuilt as a gallery with a terrace above. Part of this still survives; the sixteenth century brick, compared with that of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries employed in the adjacent buildings of Merchant Taylors' School, affords a convincing illustration of good and bad in building materials.

The principal work of North and Norfolk consisted of the buildings surrounding the central or Master's Court of the Charterhouse. All the buildings looking on to this court, except the north range with the Great Hall, have been faced with modern brickwork. The south range is built of ragstone rubble in two storeys, while the east range, originally similar, has been raised by the addition of a third storey of modern brick. There are a number of original windows in these ranges, and on the outer side of the east range, facing the Chapel Court, is the lower part of a projecting chimney-stack, also original. The east range, with part of the south, now constitutes the Master's House of Sutton's Hospital. The remaining part of the south range is added to part of the buildings of Washhouse Court to form the Registrar's house. This partition of the south range has broken up the Long Gallery, where the Recorder made so violent an intrusion on the Portuguese Ambassador in 1576.

The Guest Hall, altered during the mansion period, is chiefly remarkable for its good mid-sixteenth century roof and for the oak screen. The latter is dated 1571, and is a very beautiful example of Renaissance woodwork. More of the excellent woodwork of Howard House is to be found on the Great Staircase, which lies on the east side of the Hall. There are two broad flights of stairs with much good carving on the newels. A doorway from the top landing leads into the officers' library, which is a small part of the Great Chamber of Howard House. The Governors' room represents the major portion of the Great Chamber. It has a restored plaster ceiling with the Howard arms, while the over-mantel of the fireplace is also of the mansion period.

The man who was responsible for the third or hospital epoch of the London Charterhouse began his life before it had been diverted from its first monastic use. Thomas Sutton, whom Carthusians venerate as their Founder, started life apparently as a soldier. In 1569 he took part in the suppression of the rebellion of Northumberland and Westmorland earls, one of the last efforts of English Catholicism to upset the Reformation settlement. In February 1570, Sutton was appointed Master-General and Surveyor of Ordnance for Berwick and the North of England. But the soldier was merged in the financier. He gained much profit from his connection with the mining industry at Gateshead. Although he continued to be Master of Ordnance until 1594, he lived from 1580 onwards in the neighbourhood of London, and was married to Elizabeth Dudley at Stoke Newington in 1582. She added a large fortune to Sutton's wealth, already unusually great. Many persons, including the Queen, borrowed money from him, and in his later years a large number of charities and beggars attempted to

secure, by gift or inheritance, part of his fortune. It has been supposed that the barque *Sutton*, which took part in the defence of England in 1588, was financed by him.

But his other designs were more comprehensive than this. In his days, as in ours, England was racked by the problem of undeserved poverty. Partly owing to the dissolution of the monasteries, partly owing to the break-up of the old village life, the country was full of destitute persons of all ages. The vigorous and the healthy could be set to work; and this was the purpose of the great Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which tried also to deal with the undeserved misfortunes of the very young and the very old. But here private charity came to the relief of the State. Many almshouses were built at this date, including one by Burghley himself in his native Stamford. Sutton improved upon this. He would set up a double foundation; a hospital for the aged in one part and a school in the other. This was the origin of the revived Charterhouse.

In 1611 he bought the Charterhouse from the Earl of Suffolk, who was at the time building a large mansion at Audley End in the parish of Saffron Walden, one of the finest surviving Jacobean houses. On October 30 he nominated the Reverend John Hutton the first Master; on November 2 he conveyed the Hospital to the Governors; on November 28 he signed his long and elaborate will, and on December 12 he died. Next spring, when the roads were better, his body was removed from Hackney and buried at Christ Church, Newgate, near the present General Post Office. An enormous procession followed Sutton's bier, and a great banquet in Stationers' Hall was consumed after the funeral. Precisely three years after Sutton's death, his remains were reinterred in the Charterhouse chapel.

The validity of the will was soon challenged at law by Simon Baxter, the testator's nephew. He attempted to seize the Charterhouse, but a stout gate porter held it for the executors. One of the chief counsel against the foundation was Sir Francis Bacon, then Solicitor-General. The case was first heard on February 1, 1613, and decided by the Exchequer Judges in favour of the defendants. The Governors immediately set to work to carry out Sutton's purpose of providing help for those who needed it either at the beginning or end of their lives. It would appear that both brothers and scholars were in residence at the Charterhouse by the end of 1614.

The first brothers were largely naval and military officers who had fallen into poverty and had no means of subsistence. The first brother named on the original list was Captain George Ffenner; he may be identified, though not with certainty, with the celebrated Elizabethan buccaneer of the same name. The choice of brothers in the early seventeenth century had two notable consequences. First, the old men frequently obtained permission to leave their comfortable asylum for a season and return to the field. Some, for example, fought for Gustavus Adolphus, while others were expelled for supporting the Parliament against Charles I. Secondly, the Master and other officers had many disciplinary difficulties. Contemptuous behaviour to the Master, coining, misprision of treason, drunkenness and other offences led to expulsions. The Governors gradually built up with experience a body of rules necessary for a community of this type, and in 1627 the statutes of the Charterhouse received the royal signature. From the beginning of the hospital, no Master, preacher, officer, or brother might be a married man. In 1615 women were forbidden to lodge in the establishment and in 1627 the prohibition was extended to burial. From 1371 to

1405 women were admitted to the Charterhouse chapel under protest; from 1405 to the suppression they were rigorously excluded from the whole establishment while alive, although they might be buried there; from 1545 to 1611, the Charterhouse was filled with the laughter and tears of all classes of women—poor servants, rich countesses, the queen herself; from 1615 onwards women were allowed on the premises neither alive nor dead, except that two matrons and, at a later date, nurses might enter during the day; in more recent times, this rule has fallen into neglect. The following are the general principles which determine the election of brothers and which have been defined with many differences of detail in statutes and orders of various dates: the candidates must be old; they must be gentlemen or have been employed in the army or navy as officers, in commerce, in religion or in some other profession of educated men; they must be poor; their poverty must not be due to their wilful fault; and they must not be helpless by reason of physical or mental infirmity.

In the great political struggle of the early seventeenth century between the landed gentry and the monarchy of England, the Governors of the Charterhouse were adherents of the Royalist cause and revealed this tendency in their administration of the hospital, until in 1643 and at later dates the Parliament interfered and modified the list both of Governors and officers of Sutton's foundation. From 1650 to 1653 Oliver Cromwell was himself a Governor and the appointment of Richard Cromwell to the same dignity in 1658 is recorded in the minute book.

A celebrated incident took place at a Governors' meeting in 1687. James II had nominated Andrew Popham as a brother. It should be mentioned that since 1611 the sovereigns of England and their consorts have

always been inscribed on the roll of the Governors of the Charterhouse. Andrew Popham professed the Roman religion and, in harmony with the general feeling against James, the Governors refused to elect him. We have already seen the King attempting a similar act of interference with the appointment of a Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School.

The history of the hospital has for the most part been uneventful and, as recorded, consists of a succession of minor disciplinary difficulties and their solutions. The most famous of all the brothers is one whose name is not officially enrolled among them—Colonel Thomas Newcome, C.B. Thackeray's book contains a very beautiful account of the ceremonies of December 12 and of Thomas Sutton's tomb. 'The chapel is lighted, and Founder's Tomb, with its grotesque carvings, monsters, heraldries, darkles and shines with the most wonderful shadows and lights. There he lies, Fundator Noster, in his ruff and gown, awaiting the Great Examination Day.' While he was writing of Thomas Newcome as a pensioner of 'Greyfriars,' Thackeray used to visit Captain Thomas Light in the Preacher's Court. This and Pensioners' Court were built while William Hale was preacher. He held that office from 1823 to 1841 and was Master from 1842 to 1872. The period of Archdeacon Hale's presence in Sutton's hospital probably witnessed more radical changes in its administration than any other half-century.

The hospital belongs to the same class of multicellular communities as the colleges of the English universities, and mansions of 'service flats.' The first of these examples is indeed very closely analogous to the Charterhouse. Like members of the universities *in statu pupillari*, the pensioners have to be in their rooms by midnight; they suffer, however, the disadvantage of

having only one room, the bed being placed in a recess, although in a few cases they are provided with a pair of rooms. They have to attend a dinner in hall daily at 2 p.m. and chapel once a day. The brothers receive certain necessary articles of furniture, but are left to complete the furnishing of their rooms according to their own taste. They are paid a pension whose annual value has varied from time to time with general economic conditions; it was, for example, £5 in 1615, £47 in 1915, and £70 10s. in 1919. The month of July is a summer holiday and leave of absence may easily be obtained at other times. In addition to his pension the brother receives coal, candles, and medical attendance free.

The Governors of the Charterhouse have included among their number the most eminent men in English affairs for the last three centuries. It would take too long to name them all; the best known are Archbishop Laud, John Donne, Francis Bacon, Oliver Cromwell, George Monk Duke of Albermarle, James Duke of Monmouth, Judge Jeffreys, Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert Walpole, Charles James Fox, the Duke of Wellington, George Canning, Sir Robert Peel, William Ewart Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield and Field Marshal Earl Roberts.

It is hardly for us to write the history of a famous sister school; and a short notice here must suffice. The Charterhouse school is one of the nine older English schools called Public Schools in the narrower sense. The interpretation placed upon Sutton's instructions by the first Governors assumed that the school was intended for the sons of gentlemen and the professional classes in cases where the parents were too poor to afford an expensive education for their children. This criterion

continued to be applied more or less consistently until the abolition of the nomination system in 1872. The school consisted only of a headmaster and a second master known respectively as the schoolmaster and the usher, and forty gownboys. The schoolmaster and usher were, however, allowed to admit other pupils or oppidans; in this way they supplemented their very meagre salaries and additional teachers not recognized by the governors had to be employed. The diet of the gownboys is a matter of interest. They had breakfast and supper of bread, cheese and beer and a dinner in the middle of the day. This meal consisted usually of flesh meat, but on Fridays and Saturdays of 'furmaty,' butter, and 'fishe or applepyes.' In addition to their three chief meals, the scholars received a 'bevor' of bread and beer from the buttery between dinner and supper. The records of the Charterhouse refer to rebellions of the gownboys, trouble between the Master and the schoolmaster and a great deal of absence without leave. The gownboys not only went out of bounds very frequently, but were also in the habit of disappearing for some days at a time.

We have described some of the characteristics of the older period of the Charterhouse school. Its first series of reforms date from the years 1791 to 1832. The headmasters during this time were Matthew Raine and John Russell. The principal features of Dr. Raine's mastership were two. First, boarding houses, for members of the school who were neither gownboys nor day boys, acquired a more certain and regular status than before. Secondly, a new school building was erected on the raised ground on the north side of Upper Green. The site of Big School, as this new building was called, has since been occupied by the five courts of Merchant Taylors' School and, very recently, by the new science buildings. Dr. Raine may also deserve to be remem-

bered as the teacher of the two great English historians of Greece, George Grote and Connop Thirlwall. Dr. Russell introduced the Madras System or Bell System, by which the bulk of the teaching was done by a selected boy or 'praepositus' in each form. This method of education, absurd in every respect, save that it made it easy for the pupils to follow their own interests and to take frequent holidays without leave or sensible risk of detection, proved at first very popular and the numbers of the school rose to 480 in 1825. There were still only five masters, one to every ninety-six boys! The size of the school led to the establishment of some additional boarding houses in Charterhouse Square and Wilderness Row, and to the provision of more regular facilities for games. The latter change was effected by levelling the ground once occupied by the Great Cloister. After a period of great prosperity, the defects of the Madras System became obvious to parents and the discovery was reflected in the fall in numbers. There were only 137 boys at the Charterhouse in 1832, when Russell left, and the legacy of his errors further reduced the number to 99 in 1835. As soon as the school recovered from this adversity, another drawback began to be strongly felt. The Charterhouse was, by the middle of the nineteenth century, surrounded by the streets and buildings of expanded London. The school was removed to Godalming under the provisions of a statute of 1867, and the school buildings at the Charterhouse were sold to Merchant Taylors' School. The removal was almost entirely due to the enthusiasm of the Headmaster, Dr. William Haig Brown, who in a little more than two years had overcome the objections of the Governors to his proposals.

Except for the erection of Preacher's Court and Pensioners' Court between 1825 and 1840 on the site of

the priory outbuildings, little has been added to the original fabric. The central parts of the establishment are still Howard House, with remains of the monastery visible here and there. The chapel, however, has been thoroughly changed. The north aisle was added by Sutton's executors. In the west wall of the tower is a good early seventeenth-century doorway leading into the Chapel Cloister. In the matter of fittings, the chapel contains much fine work of the seventeenth century. The communion table, the pulpit, the screen at the west end of the north aisle, and the oak benches all date from the early years of the hospital, while the paneling in the vestibule is an example of later seventeenth-century woodwork. The great tomb of Thomas Sutton dates from 1615. To many the smaller and less ornate monument of Francis Beaumont, the fourth Master of the hospital, who died in 1624, will seem more beautiful than the elaborate Founder's tomb.

At the same time that the Chapel was enlarged, the Chapel Cloister was built to connect it with the east range of the Master's Court. The ground storey is of Portland stone; it is surmounted by brickwork of the eighteenth and later centuries. The vestibule of Brooke Hall lies at the west end of the Chapel Cloister. Its ceiling is supported by two oak columns, probably of the eighteenth century. The gallery along the north side of the Great Hall may be ascribed to the early seventeenth century, while the porch of the Hall dates from the later part of the same century.

One of the most important archæological features of the Charterhouse is its splendid collection of seventeenth-century fireplaces. Notable examples are those in the Great Hall, the Brothers' Library, the Master's House and the Governors' Room although the overmantel of the last specimen is a legacy from Howard House.



ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL

Sutton's Hospital has also much panelling of its early period, in the Master's House, the Library and elsewhere.

It is difficult to see in its true colours and proportions the history of mankind—the intricate web woven by myriads of men and women in the fulfilment of their primary pleasures and duties. The web contains, moreover, threads of a different texture—threads of art and philosophy, love and religion. Those who desire to examine this web are aided by a consideration of the vicissitudes and associations of the Charterhouse, an institution which shares its name with a locality in the Gorge de Guiers des Morts in the mountains of Dauphiné and with a celebrated liqueur manufactured at Tarragona.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH AND HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT IN SMITHFIELD

‘Then Rahere began to build his Priory and Hospital to the honour of the blessed St. Bartholomew who appeared to him after a most grievous illness, in that he might require at the hands of Rahere the vow which he had made for his recovery; and did give him strict orders to endow and found a Priory and Hospital in Smithfield.’

THERE was at the court of Henry I a young man, by name Rahere. He was born of humble parents, but his entertaining wit secured him an entrance into the houses of nobles, and finally into the King’s Court. He soon became the King’s favourite, but it would be incorrect to speak of him as the King’s jester. Mr. Kipling holds this view although there is no historical record to support his theory. In spite of his frivolous life Rahere chose to make a friend of Robert de Belmeis, who later became Bishop of London. Probably it was owing to this friendship that Rahere suddenly forsook his gay life at the Court, and entered the Church to serve as a prebendary at St. Paul’s.

Then followed a pilgrimage to Rome. On the journey Rahere was stricken down by the deadly malarial fever, so common in southern climes. His life was in the utmost danger. His friends expected to hear of his death at any moment. During one period of consciousness the sick man vowed that, if he should recover, he would build a hospital for the poor. Soon after the crisis came, and his friends knew that he would live.

On the journey home he had a vision, in which St. Bartholomew stood before him and commanded him to hasten home and build in his honour a church and hospital, naming Smithfield as a suitable site for the proposed buildings.

In 1123 Rahere obtained permission by a charter from the King to commence building his Church and Hospital. He chose as the site for building an old tilting-ground in West Smithfield, and with his own hands helped in the work. Ten years later the King granted a second charter to Rahere, by which the new Priory secured further rights and property. The Hospital flourished from the day of its foundation, when Adwyne of Dynwyche presented himself as the first of its thousands of patients.

In 1137 Rahere handed over the charge of the Hospital to the care of Hagno, and resigned himself to the supervision of his ecclesiastical foundation. He was now becoming an old man, sensible of his past life spent in reckless frivolity, and conscious of the short span he had to live, he considered the time should be spent in devotion and prayer to atone for his youth. In 1143 he died.

To him belongs the honour of having built the first Augustinian Priory in England. At his death there were thirteen canons regular, though this number was later increased to thirty-five by Thomas, the second Prior. Rahere was responsible for the building of the choir, which now comprises the largest portion of the present structure, a small Lady chapel and two side chapels, none of which now exist. Nor was the memory of the old man forgotten, for during the reign of Henry II one of the canons of the Priory wrote a Life of Rahere. Unfortunately the original document has been lost, but an illuminated copy was made in the fifteenth century, and is now in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum.

Early in its history a disgraceful ecclesiastical brawl

occurred at the very gate of the Priory. Boniface, the Provençal Archbishop of Canterbury, came in 1244 to visit Rahere's friars, and was received with solemn procession. "The Archbishop was rather angry at the state, and told the canons that he passed not for honour, but to visit them as part of the duties of his office. The canons, irritated at his pride, replied that having a learned Bishop of their own, they desired no other visitation. The Archbishop, furious at this, smote the sub-prior on the face, crying, "Indeed! indeed! doth it become you English traitors so to answer me?" Then, bursting with oaths, the Archbishop fell on the unfortunate sub-prior, tore his rich cope to shreds, trampled them under foot, and then thrust the wearer back with such force against a chancel pillar as nearly to kill him. The canons, alarmed at this furious onslaught, pulled the Archbishop on his back, and in so doing discovered that he was armed. The Archbishop's Provençal attendants, seeing their master down, fell in their turn on the Smithfield canons, beat them, rent their frocks and trod them under foot. The canons then ran, covered with blood and mire, to the King at Westminster, but he refused to interfere. The citizens, by this time roused, would have rung the common bell, and torn the foreign Archbishop to pieces, had he not fled over the water to Lambeth.' Disturbances like this are not uncommon in the history of the mediæval Church. Englishmen always hated the intrusion of foreign ecclesiastics, especially when they occupied wealthy sees and livings.

By the time Edward II had begun his reign the Priory buildings had been completed. The long nave was built in the Early English style, and the light airy vaulting arches must have presented a very striking contrast to the sturdy pillars and massive round arches of Rahere's choir. The chapterhouse was also of Norman work,

but this was later demolished and a new chapterhouse was erected. We would have to draw much upon our imagination if we were to describe this building, as the remains are so scanty as to be of little use for a practical reconstruction. The Priory buildings and guest houses stood on the south side of the church. These buildings were completely demolished in later years, and others erected in their place. About this time the church became a sanctuary and in a great city many must have escaped thither to claim the Church's protection from their pursuers.

In 1381 the rebellious peasants under Wat Tyler marched to the square before the west front of the Priory to make terms with the King. In 1405 great architectural alterations were made. The old Norman apsidal termination of the choir, a rare feature in Norman work in England, was demolished and a square east-end substituted. The bell tower, the clerestory of Rahere's choir, the cloister, and the chapter-house were also reconstructed.

About 1505 Prior Bolton made further alterations in the Priory building. To him belongs the honour of having reconstructed the greater portions of the monastic buildings and guest houses. In his time the Church rose to the zenith of its power and influence.

The dissolution of the monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII did not affect the Priory of St. Bartholomew for some years. But, although the ultimate end of the Priory was late in coming, it was none the less certain. In 1539 the King decided that the Priory must be destroyed.

We can conjure up a picture of Tudor London on the last night of the Priory. It was an easy victim. . . . Night had long fallen. Racing clouds obscured the light of the moon. A party of pikemen came slowly and

uncertainly across the square of Smithfield. The light of two lanterns served to point out the way. Now and again one of the pikemen would stumble over something. It might prove on inspection to be an old basket, or a broken pot left by the market people, who plied their trade during the daytime. In addition to the many pits and obstacles so common in those days on the heath, Smithfield was notorious for its evil smells.

The pikemen halted at the western front of the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great. As if by a pre-arranged plan, two of the soldiers stepped from their ranks, and stationed themselves at the imposing entrance of the Church. A curt order, and the remainder of the company clanked away. The two pikemen, left on guard, removed their cumbersome pikes from the 'porte' and leaned them against the stone work, at the same time vigorously cursing the icy wind, which blew in great gusts across the open heath of Smithfield. Soon they fell to beating their arms, and blowing upon their hands, redoubled their oaths and called upon Heaven to witness their bad luck.

The taller of the two stamped his feet, and seeking closer protection from the wind, which had increased in fury, entered the shelter of the arches. He stumbled, and something stirred, dragging itself into the denser darkness.

'Hey,' said the first pikeman, 'What's that?'

The second man reached for his pike.

''Tis the devil,' said the first, drawing his sword, whilst his comrade investigated with the butt end of his pike. In answer to a vigorous prod a low moan stole out of the shadows.

'Aye, and 'tis a queer devil,' said the investigator. 'Tis a beggar. One of the dependents on the Priory, I suppose.'

The first pikeman sheathed his sword. 'A beggar did you say? So much the better. Marry, but methinks that he'll sleep no more in these arches o' nights. Sleep on, take your rest, Sir Beggar, for with to-morrow's sun this Priory becomes the King's,' adding as an after-thought, 'Long live the King.'

'Aye,' said the second pikeman, 'Long live lean Hal, and perdition take his enemies—and this wind.'

'Come into the archway,' replied the first, 'Tis warmer there. How this wind bites! Yes, you monks within your cosy cells, laugh at our discomfort. Laugh till you burst. But to-morrow we will sample your cellar contents. Come, Will, lie down here. Make room, you beggars. Give me that cloak, villain, or I'll stave in your ribs. Here, Will. Share this old cloak with me. And now to rest.'

When the sun rose the Priory was a Priory no longer. . . .

Soon after the Crown had forcibly seized the property of the Priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, large portions of the structure were destroyed. The nave, the north transept and the chapels on the north side were demolished; the south transept roof was stripped of its lead, whilst the Lady chapel and the rest of the monastic buildings, together with the Close and Cloth Fair, were sold to Sir Richard Rich. The Church, instead of a priory church, became a parish church. But in 1556, when Mary revived the old Catholic beliefs and foundations, Rich granted the Church and building to the Queen who established here the Dominicans or Black Friars. On the accession of Elizabeth they vacated the buildings and the Church again became the place of worship for a parish.

The Church never recovered from the blow which the Dissolution had dealt it. Fire and encroachment did

their worst. A fringe factory actually occupied the Lady chapel; a blacksmith's forge the north transept; the parochial school the north triforium; whilst for many years a Nonconformist congregation had a meeting place and school in the south triforium. The windows in the east end were replaced by round headed windows of the Georgian style; great high pews of a funereal hue reached up to the very capitals of the columns, and the whole interior, walls and roof, was shrouded in whitewash.

However, thanks to the energies of the later rectors of the church, a restoration of the fabric has been rendered possible. The work of restoration has been conducted by Sir Aston Webb, whose labours have preserved for us the most interesting, certainly the oldest, Norman parish church in London.

The entrance to the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Great catches the eye at once. The old Tudor house which overhangs the gate is a well-known London landmark. Its history though short is none the less strange. In 1916 the Germans made several air raids on London, and amongst all the numerous bombs which they loosed upon our city none was destined for a happier fate than that which landed in Smithfield, and besides shattering numerous windows in the vicinity, blew the greater part of the tiles off the face of a house, which overhung the Smithfield gateway. The authorities were delighted to find that, when the remaining tiles were removed, what had before seemed to be an ordinary brick house was nothing less than a piece of old London dating from the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Tudor house had been erected in 1595 in place of the old monastic rooms, which originally stood over the archway. When the nave was demolished in 1539 this portion of the west front was retained as being a convenient place on which to hang a parish gate. In the eighteenth century the old building

began to show signs of wear, and so a facing of tiles was put up to preserve the fabric from the ravages of time. The windows and dormer are not original, but were added at the time of restoration.

The approach to the church was formed by cutting a path through the old churchyard, which usurped the position of the original nave. It is interesting to note that before 1863 the floor of the church was several feet higher than the former Norman level. To the right of this approach are the fragmentary remains of the south wall of the nave and the bases of the early English pillars.

The present west front dates from the time of the suppression of the Priory by Henry VIII, and there is every reason to believe that it stands upon the site of the west wall of the *pulpitum*. The front was completely refaced in 1893, when the porch was built. In a small niche above the entrance to the Church stands a figure of Rahere, similar to the effigy upon his tomb. In his hand he holds a model of the church (copied from the church's seal, now in the keeping of St. Bartholomew's Hospital), and his face is turned towards his world famous foundation, the Hospital.

The best view of the interior of the church is from the west end of the building under the organ loft. This view embraces the main portion of the work of Rahere, and very majestic it appears. How much more impressive must it have been when nave and transepts were standing! This portion of the building originally formed only the choir of the church. To Rahere we owe no little debt, for the massive Norman piers and round arches, which form the ground arcade, and the triforium above are his work. The clerestory is perpendicular work, replacing the old Norman structure. This clerestory was built in 1405, when the two centre piers of the apse with their peculiar stilted arches and their

portion of the triforium and clerestory were demolished, and a square termination, more usual in English work, with two Perpendicular windows in the upper portion was inserted. The remains of the straight east wall and the jambs of the two windows can be seen where the curve of the building commences. The ground arcade of the apse was restored in 1864 and the upper portion in 1885.

On the south side of the choir attention is drawn to the fine oriel window in the third arch of the triforium. This window was built by Prior Bolton, its purpose, it is believed, being to enable the Prior to see mass performed at the high altar. Such windows as this may be seen in Westminster Abbey, Christ's College, Cambridge, Gloucester, Malmesbury, Fountains and elsewhere. Bolton seems to have possessed no mean reputation as a builder. It was under his supervision that Canonbury Towers and Newhall, Essex, were built for Henry VIII; he was also in charge of the construction of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster.

To the north of the sanctuary almost facing the oriel window, stands the beautiful Perpendicular tomb of Rahere. Such a position is customary for the tomb of a founder. The present structure dates from the fifteenth century, and though built in the Perpendicular style it possesses something of the feeling of the earlier Decorated Period. Beneath the triple arched canopy rests the restored effigy of the founder, under which the body of Rahere is laid. On either side two puppet figures of canons are reading to him from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah—

‘For the Lord hath comforted Zion: He hath comforted all the waste places, and made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.’

At his feet an angel holds a shield with the arms of the Priory. As represented by the effigy Rahere is clothed in the habit of an Austin canon. His dress consists of a black cassock, over which is a surplice (at some time painted black in error); over the shoulders and breasts is the almuce with two stole-like appendages as first worn in the fifteenth century; over all is the canon's black cope or hood.

The arms on the tomb are:—1, The City of London; 2, Rahere; 3, England; 4, Sir Stephen Slaney, Lord Mayor of London in 1595. The walled-up niche at the side of the tomb possibly formed a small chantry, where in accordance with mediaeval practice, masses could be said for the soul of the founder.

The baptistry is modern, having been erected in 1891, but the font is interesting. It is quite plain, of early fifteenth-century work, being one of the three pre-Reformation fonts in London. During the eighteenth century it was condemned by the vestry and a new one was ordered in its place. Fortunately the order was never carried into execution. Hogarth, the painter, born in St. Bartholomew's Close, was baptized in this font in 1697.

Of the cloister only the east walk remains. This is not surprising, since it must be borne in mind that until 1905 the cloister was entirely lost to the church. In that year the three north bays of the east walk, then occupied as stables, were recovered and restored. There was found to be seven feet of earth upon the floor, so greatly had the old Priory been neglected and ill-used. In 1923 a further five bays were purchased from the stable-keepers, as a fit commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the founding of the Priory.

The work of restoration occupied five years, and not until June 10, 1928, were the new bays of the cloister

opened by Princess Mary. At the entrance on the cloister side is a Norman arch with shafts, capitals, and bases dating from about 1150, with a large arch dating from about 1405, the time of extensive rebuilding. The remainder of the work dates from the same period, except the remains of the door jambs in the brick wall on the west side of the first bay. This door was probably inserted by the Dominicans in 1556, after their brief reinstitution by Mary.

In the centre of the sixth bay is the blocked entrance to the Chapter house. The bays on either side contain the arched window-like openings which are to be found beside every entrance to a chapter house of the Norman period. In the eighth bay are traces of the commencement of the dormer stairs, which led to the dormitories above. The ninth bay has been completely destroyed, and its site is not in the possession of the church. The original vaulting was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1830, but many of the old ribs and some of the original bosses have been used in the construction of the new vaulting.

In the show cases there are some interesting objects found during the restoration work. These include some fine specimens of twelfth-century carving of about the year 1170-80; a portion of the sandal and coffin from Rahere's tomb, which were stolen in 1865; the original matrix of the Dominican seal struck by Prior Perrin in 1556, and the manuscript of his book of spiritual exercises. On the floor of the cloister is a coffin found below the Chapterhouse in 1912. It is probably the coffin of Prior Thomas (1137-1174).

For many years the north transept of the church was occupied by a blacksmith's forge, and it was not until 1893 that it was finally restored to the church. This fine arcade was buried in some four feet of earth, and the

upper portion was entirely hidden by the smithy. The furnace was against the first of the arches; the stones are still discoloured by the smoke. Under the first arch there used to be a stone coffin with a much worn Purbeck marble slab, containing a skeleton, which judging from the sandals still on the feet is that of a Prior. The northern portion of this transept is entirely new, but it harmonizes with the old, while it is purposely differentiated from it. This transept now serves as a memorial chapel for those who fell in the Great War.

In the left hand wall of the north ambulatory are the three bays which opened into a parish chapel built by Roger Walden, and further along is the entrance to Rahere's Norman chapel of which nothing now remains except the entrance arch. It was originally the Chapel of St. Bartholomew where those seeking healing from the Saint were wont to repair.

The screen of the Lady chapel is modern, but is nevertheless a very fine example of nineteenth-century ironwork.

The Lady chapel has seen many vicissitudes. The first chapel was erected by Rahere, and in size and shape it was much shorter and narrower, with an apsidal termination. About 1336 it was rebuilt and the older Norman structure was altered. After the Suppression in 1539, the chapel was purchased with other portions of the Priory by Sir Richard Rich, and was converted into a dwelling house. Later it fell into the hands of Samuel Palmer, printer and letter founder, who employed here in 1725 Benjamin Franklin, the great American philosopher and politician. In 1833 it again changed hands, and became the property of a fringe-maker, and so remained until 1885 when it was purchased and its western end restored to the church. The remainder was restored in 1896, with the exception of the third window on the

north side, which was blocked by a dwelling-house. In 1906 this obstacle was removed and the work completed. The window sills and jambs on the north side are fifteenth-century work, but the arches and tracery of the windows are new, also the windows on the south side as well as the east wall. The external buttresses are original. On the south side of the sanctuary are the remains of the sedilia—sadly mutilated from having been used as a receptacle for the fringe-maker's safe!

The crypt under the Lady chapel was originally a bone crypt or charnel house, in which the bones of the canons, which had been disturbed by the rebuilding of the Lady chapel in 1336 were placed. It was lighted by deeply splayed unglazed windows, and was no doubt built at the same time as the Lady chapel overhead. The vaulting has been renewed, though portions of the original remain. The vaulting is of the type known as barrel vaulting, and in construction is identical with the vaulting which spans the 'Traitors' Gate at the Tower of London. The walls, piers and windows are original. After the suppression of the Priory this crypt was very badly treated; for, having been partly filled with earth, it was used as a coal and wine cellar. At the present it serves to a certain degree its original purpose of a charnel house, for it is used as a mortuary chapel, where the bodies of parishioners may rest awaiting burial.

The most interesting tomb in St. Bartholomew's, with the exception of Rahere's fine monument, is that of Sir Walter Mildmay. It is a good example of an altar tomb. It originally stood on the south side of the sanctuary, facing the tomb of Rahere. In after years it was moved to its present position in the south ambulatory. The position is an unfortunate one, for that part of the Church is generally too dark to allow anyone to examine the tomb with any care. Mildmay was the founder of Emmanuel

College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth. He was one of the commissioners who tried Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay Castle.

For four hundred years the Hospital, although it had its own chapter and administration, was associated with the Priory. Its staff consisted of a Master and eight Brethren, together with a number of Nuns who acted as nurses. When the Priory was suppressed in 1539 the Hospital was also closed. But the City soon began to clamour for the re-opening of the Hospital and the continuation of its good work. In 1547 the Hospital was re-opened. It flourished so greatly that in 1730 it was obvious that new and more extensive accommodation was required. Hence the next thirty-six years were occupied with the erection of new buildings. As the years advanced once more a deficiency made itself known. The Medical School badly needed new accommodation. In 1881 this need was satisfied, yet the Hospital still continued to increase, and since 1905 further additions have been necessary. Important extensions are under construction now.

In the grounds of the Hospital stands the little church of St. Bartholomew the Less. It was originally known as the Chapel of the Holy Cross, but after the re-founding of the Hospital by Henry VIII it became the parish church of the Hospital, under the name of St. Bartholomew the Less. The oldest part of the present church is the tower, which probably dates from the fourteenth century, though it has been considerably restored. The doorway in the tower is of the Tudor period. The present structure was built on the same plan as an earlier one of wood and dates from 1823.

A rather quaint epitaph is inscribed upon the tomb of Robert Balthorpe, sergeant-surgeon to Queen Elizabeth.

He lived in St. Bartholomew's and died there in 1591.
Here is the epitaph:—

'Here Robert Balthorpe lyes intombed, to Elizabeth our Queen,
Who sergeant of the surgeons sworne neere thirte yeeres hath
beene.

He died at Syxtie-nine of yeeres, December's ninthe the daye,
The yeare of Grace eight hundred twice, deducting nine awaye.
Let heere his rotten bones repose, till angell's trompet sounde
To warne the worlde of present chaunge and raise the dead from
ground.'

In the Hospital's keeping are many fine pictures of Hogarth, Kneller, Reynolds and Millais. Hogarth, who served as a Governor of the Hospital, painted two large frescoes—The Pool of Bethesda, and the Good Samaritan—which decorate the Great Staircase. Doctors, it is said, are able to diagnose the different ailments of the sufferers in the former picture, so faithfully did Hogarth depict them. There is also a large picture of Henry VIII in the possession of the Hospital, which many authorities think is the work of Holbein.

Among the famous professors of the Medical School mention may be made of John Mirfield, who wrote the first printed book of medicine about the year 1400; William Clowes, who served as a surgeon in the Fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada, and whose books are described as 'the best surgical writings of the Elizabethan age'; William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood; Dr. Caius, whose name is associated with the College at Cambridge; Richard Owen, the celebrated anatomist; and Abernethy, perhaps the most famous of all lecturers who practised here, and a pioneer in the study of the digestive system.

Smithfield, or Smoothfield, as it was once called, is known to the majority only because of its associations

with the meat-market. In the old days it was famous for its smells and fairs, and jousts and duels. It has, however, an exciting tale to tell, although the tale is an evil one. It used to be the place of public executions before Tyburn and Sir William Wallace, the Scotch patriot, and Mortimer, the enemy of Edward II, were hanged there. No part of London has bloodier memories.

In 1381 England was in an uproar. The country was shaken to her very foundations by a succession of violent shocks. The Black Death had passed through the land, and under its shadow thousands had sickened and died. The poorer classes suffered most of all, and the consequence was an alarming shortage of labour. Stricter laws were needed to prevent the peasants from taking advantage of the confusion. In fact the gap between the nobles and common classes was steadily widening day by day. A useless war was being waged in France. The peasants paid for the expenses of the war, which devoured greedily and gave nothing in return. A tax of a groat was imposed on every person over the age of fourteen, and grudgingly paid.

The peasants bided their time and appeared to be indifferent to the teachings of John Ball, a priest and a passionate reformer, his mind filled with the wrongs of the poor, who lived and died in their service. The seeds of discontent had been sown, and a plenteous harvest was soon to spring from them.

The hateful poll tax was increased to two groats. Still no move was made by the patient peasantry. Then suddenly without warning the smouldering coals of discontent burst into flame—the men of Kent rebelled.

There had been trouble in the household of one Wat Tyler. The tax collector arrived at his home, and demanded payment of the tax. Tyler's wife gave him four

groats. The daughter happened to pass, and the collector seeing her demanded that two groats extra should be paid. The mother protested that her daughter was not yet fourteen years of age. Whereupon the collector brutally attacked the girl. Their screams brought Wat from his work nearby the house. He held his hammer in his hand as he came running to the door of his home. He was a man of quick temper, and striking the tax collector on the head stretched him dead on the floor.

The men of Kent immediately rallied round Tyler, and proclaimed him as their leader. John Ball was forcibly released from the prison into which he had been thrust in order to silence his mischief-making tongue. Simultaneously rebellions broke out in all parts of England. The nobles were terrified. The authorities seemed paralyzed. Wat marched on London at the head of thirty thousand stout men of Kent, hanging every lawyer on whom he could lay his hands. At Blackheath, John Ball harangued the assembled rebels from all parts of England. Then the host continued their march to London.

The rebels made their way into the City and roamed the streets of London for several days. At length at Mile End, Richard II met them to hear their demands, which were reasonable enough. Richard promised that they should be granted, and ordered thirty clerks to write out charters for the leaders of the various bands of rebels.

Meanwhile Tyler and a band of companions broke into the Tower, hoping to find the King there. The mob committed no violence at first, beyond snatching away the arms of the guards and subjecting them to good-natured banter. But when they found that their prey had escaped, their wrath rose. They broke in and finding the Archbishop and the Treasurer, whom they

considered responsible for the hated poll tax, they hurried them out and executed them on Tower Hill.

Next morning Wat and his followers streamed on to the Smithfield square, and met the King with a small company of gentlemen, amongst whom was Walworth the Mayor. Tyler rode out from his party, and crossed the square to speak with the King. The ensuing events are very muddled and uncertain. Tyler was suspected of playing with his dagger, whereupon Walworth committed the not very valiant action of drawing his dagger and stabbing Wat in the throat. Wat fell from his horse and one of the king's squires is said to have passed his sword through the rebel leader as he lay upon the ground. The horse took fright, and galloped across the square, dragging the body of Wat, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup, over the uneven ground towards the rebels. A thousand bows were bent against the king when the rebels saw what had happened. The peril in which the king stood was great. But by his courage he saved his own life and those of all his companions. He rode forward, calmed the mob and led them away to betray them.

The Mayor made off hastily. He was not thinking of his own peril for he was no coward. He knew that there were troops in the City. Sir Robert Knolles was the first man whom he met. This brave, though brutal soldier, was soon marching post haste after the rebels with a company of his own soldiers and the train bands of the different wards. The rebels were surrounded and cowed at Clerkenwell fields. Meanwhile the Mayor returned to find the body of Tyler. He was surprised to find the body missing. The reason was that Tyler had been carried, dead or dying we do not know, into 'the hospital of the poor people at St. Bartholomew's, and laid in the chamber of the Master.' The Mayor, how-

ever, 'went in and had Tyler brought out and beheaded there in Smithfield.'

The next scene is as grim; indeed there is not much that is happy in the history of Smithfield. Prior Houghton and the monks of the Charterhouse died there for their Faith in 1535, and the martyrs of Catholicism were followed by the martyrs of Protestantism, sent to the stake by Mary in her attempt to re-establish the old religion in England. There are few more pathetic figures in history than Mary. All her hopes were disappointed. Childless, deserted by her husband the King of Spain, maddened by the memory of her mother's wrongs, her zeal for her religion, stimulated by unwise advisers, deepened into fanaticism. When on the death of Edward VI she successfully asserted her right to the throne, she had the support and perhaps the affection of her people. She was capable, clever, possessing all her father's boldness and skill; she even had an attraction of her own. But she did not understand the character of the people she was set to govern; and when she commenced the burnings, she terrified England; then the people both feared and hated her, until at length they could only hate her.

In Smithfield many died for their faith. One of them and among the first was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was a familiar friend and companion of William Tyndale. He has been called Tyndale's 'literary executor,' for the martyr's books, papers and manuscripts came into his hands. To go over these and arrange them carefully gave him a kind of melancholy pleasure. With the help of these he compiled a Bible, which was published under the title of Matthew's Bible in 1537. As he marched to the stake the people wept and prayed for him. His family, from whom he was not allowed to part in private, were waiting on the way to

see him—his German wife with her ten little children—but they greeted him, not with lamentations, but with cries of joy as if he were on his way to a festival. Many of the martyrs on both sides died like that.

In 1849 a mass of human bones and oak posts, showing signs of fire, were dug up immediately opposite the entrance to St. Bartholomew's Church. There can be no doubt that these were the remains of some of the Smithfield martyrs.

For many years an annual fair was held in Smithfield Square. The rents and revenues of this famous fair were the sole source of income to the Hospital. It was most famous for its cattle buying and leather manufactures. Falstaff sent Bardolph into Smithfield to buy him a horse. After the Dissolution the fair became a fourteen days' carnival.

Ben Jonson wrote a play *Bartholomew Fair*, in 1613, in which he assaults the Puritans, whose hold on the City was then tightening. Samuel Pepys often visited it, as extracts from his diary reveal. He speaks of the dancing and the side shows, and of a horse 'which tells money.' Later, speaking of this horse again, he writes, 'To Bartholomew Fair; and there saw the dancing mare again, which, to-day, I find to act much worse than the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master beat her for, and was mightily vexed; and then the dancing of the ropes, and also the little stage-play, which is very ridiculous.' The *Beggar's Opera* was acted here in 1728. In 1852 this market was moved to Islington and about the same time the fair was discontinued. It had become a happy hunting-ground for pick-pockets and roughs of every description and its unpopularity killed it.

Dickens knew old Smithfield well and the shades of some famous characters haunt it. Mr. Wackford Squeers, proprietor of Dotheboys Hall, the patron-saint

of schoolmasters, used to stay at the Saracen's Head in Snow Hill on the occasion of his half-yearly visits to London, and Nicholas Nickleby set off to the north with him through the market. Fagin and the Artful Dodger had their quarters in the neighbourhood; and Bill Sikes took Oliver Twist through Smithfield on the expedition which ended in the robbery at Chertsey.

'It was market morning; the ground was covered nearly ankle-deep with filth and mire, and a thick steam perpetually rising from the reeking bodies of the cattle, and mingling with the fog which seemed to rest upon the chimney-tops, hung heavily above. All the pens in the centre of the large area, and as many temporary ones as could be crowded into the vacant space, were filled with sheep; and tied up to posts by the gutter-side were long lines of oxen, three or four deep. Countrymen, butchers, drovers, hawkers, boys, thieves, idlers, and vagabonds of every low grade, were mingled together in a dense mass. The whistling of drovers, the barking of dogs, the bellowing and plunging of beasts, the bleating of sheep, and grunting and squeaking of pigs; the cries of hawkers, the shouts, oaths, and quarrelling on all sides, the ringing of bells, and the roar of voices that issued from every public-house, the crowding, pushing, driving, beating, whooping, and yelling, the hideous and discordant din that resounded from every corner of the market, and the unwashed, unshaven, squalid, and dirty figures constantly running to and fro, and bursting in and out of the throng, rendered it a stunning and bewildering scene, which quite confused the senses.'

CHAPTER VI

THE PRIORY CHURCH OF THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN ENGLAND, CLERKENWELL

WHEN John Stow penned his *Survey of London*, in 1598, he described Clerkenwell as a pleasant suburb noted for its numerous medicinal springs and much 'frequented by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk forth to take the air.' It was in fact London's first spa, and until the early nineteenth century the wells and pleasure-gardens of Clerkenwell had as wide a reputation as any in the country, while the playhouses at Sadler's Wells and Bagnigge Wells were among the earliest rivals of Shakespeare's theatres at Southwark and Blackfriars. According to Stow, Clerkenwell took its name from a well where the 'parish clerks were of old time accustomed yearly to assemble and to play some large history of Holy Scripture.' There is no mention of Clerkenwell in Domesday or in other early records, and although various other suggestions as to the derivation of the word have been made, Stow's interpretation seems the most probable.

Clerkenwell's fame as an early health-resort need not detain us here. The place has been associated for more than 800 years with the crusading Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Before the Dissolution Clerkenwell possessed two great monastic houses. The Nunnery of St. Mary was founded by Jourdain de Briset in 1144. After the Dissolution the Chapel of the Nunnery dedicated to St. James the Less, became the

parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, and together with the south walk of the old cloister, remained standing until the present church of St. James was built in 1788. The Priory of St. John was the English headquarters of a great international organization for the assistance of those who were engaged on the Crusades. Of the original buildings, only the crypt beneath the choir and the great south gate of the precinct remain to-day; but when the church stood complete with nave, aisles and tower, surrounded by the Hospital and the Prior's Lodging, it must have been as fine a building as any in the neighbouring City.

The Order has its origin in 1048 when some traders of Amalfi, a town on the west coast of Italy, founded a hospital close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Half a century later Pope Urban II appealed to the Christians of the West to set out on the First Crusade, and in 1099 Godfrey de Bouillon vanquished the Turks and entered Jerusalem, where they found the new hospital in full working order. The victors rewarded the merchants of Amalfi for their good work by endowing them with lands in various parts of Europe. Shortly afterwards Pope Pascal II gave his assent to the foundation of an official 'Order.' Its members, in common with those of other monastic orders, were sworn to poverty and chastity, but after the death of the first Grand Master, Peter de Gerard, their mission of charity began to give place to the requirements of a militarist society. The formation of the Order of Knights Templars was in a large measure due to a wish to rival the new form which had been assumed by the Hospitallers.

For nearly 200 years rivalry between the two Orders continued; but the Knights of St. John enjoyed a reputation for charity and humanity which the Templars had never possessed, and when it became apparent that the

struggle between the two bodies could not go on without the complete extinction of one Order or the other, the Hospitallers had the sympathy of the Church on their side. The Templars, on the other hand, had always been renowned for cruelty and avarice, and they gradually came to be looked upon as a danger to Christian society. Eventually, in 1311, Philip IV of France forced the Pope to suppress them. As it was primarily a religious body, the Pope commanded that the greater part of the Order's wealth should pass into the hands of the Knights of St. John, who thus derived considerable benefit from the extinction of their rivals.

Early in the fourteenth century the Hospitallers established their headquarters at Rhodes. The growing Turkish empire regarded them as its foremost enemy. Their wealth gave them great influence with the heads of the European states, and the position of the Order as a moving political force led to as bitter a feud with Turkey as was the struggle with the Templars. In 1522 the island was besieged by a Turkish fleet, and in the following year the Grand Master was forced to capitulate. Malta now became the chief of the eight 'langues' or 'tongues' of the Order, and until 1792 the Knights remained peaceful occupants of their new headquarters. In that year they gave Louis XVI 500,000 francs to assist him in trying to escape from France. The Directory rewarded this unwise act of generosity by declaring the French *langue* to be non-existent, and six years later Malta was annexed to France. But fortune favoured the Knights. Malta was recaptured by Nelson, and the claims of the Hospitallers received the official recognition of Great Britain. On Napoleon's downfall the French *langue* was reconstituted, and in 1826 the English *langue*, which had lapsed into a poverty-stricken oblivion after the Dissolution, was revived.

Fifty years later the Order entered upon the great work which has since won it a world-wide reputation. The St. John Ambulance Association was incorporated in 1878, and ten years afterwards Queen Victoria granted a charter. Since then both King Edward VII and his present Majesty King George V, have held the office of Grand Prior of England previous to their accession to the throne. During the Great War the members of the Association fulfilled the Order's highest tradition and in 1924 the King held an investiture of the Knights at Buckingham Palace, thus giving expression to the gratitude of the Empire for the deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice which had been performed by the St. John Ambulance Association. In spite of the vicissitudes of 800 years, the principles upon which the Order was founded have endured, and to-day the Priory Gate at Clerkenwell is the headquarters of one of the world's greatest organizations for the alleviation of human suffering.

The foundation of the English Priory followed closely upon the Pope's recognition of an official 'Order.' In 1145 Jourdain de Briset obtained ten acres of land from the nunnery which he had founded in the previous year 'near unto Clarkes well besides West Smithfield.' He gave this land to the Hospitallers, and in 1185 Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, consecrated their first church. The site was well suited for the headquarters of an English branch. Clerkenwell lay less than half a mile outside the walls of the City of London, and thus, from the point of view of the Order's political standing, the situation could not have been better. For a monastic establishment, the position chosen was almost ideal; the water supply was excellent owing to the presence of the numerous springs which, as we have already noted,

were to make Clerkenwell famous in years to come. Although it was so near to the City, the Priory, with its grounds sloping gently down to the little River of Wells, was practically 'in the country.'

In common with the Templars, the Knights of St. John belonged to the Augustinian order. Under the second Grand Master, the famous Raymond de Puy, who was responsible for transforming the 'little band of monks into the greatest Order of chivalry the world has ever known,' it seemed not unlikely that the religious activities of the Hospitallers might give place to the military. But the rules of the Order continued to be extremely strict. It was enacted that at the ceremony for the reception of new brethren, the officiating knight or serving brother 'shall afterwards represent to them their obligations of obedience and the severity of the rules, which do not allow them to conduct themselves any more after their own will; which oblige them to renounce it, to follow for the future only that of their superiors; so that if they should never have so great a desire to do a thing, the duty of their obedience would oblige them to the contrary.'

Of the early brethren, many were Frenchmen who had been sent over by the Grand Master to establish the new branch of the Order in this country. A considerable period had to elapse before the English *langue* was completely organized, and until the close of the thirteenth century the work went steadily forward. But about this time the prosperity which the Order had enjoyed since its foundation drew to an end. The struggle with the Templars was becoming unbearable, and, owing to the maladministration of the then Grand Prior of England, the state of the Hospital's finances gave rise to some alarm at Clerkenwell. In 1328 the Grand Master temporarily removed him from office, filling his place

with a deputy Grand Prior, Leonard de Tybertis. Leonard was a capable and energetic leader, and within a few years of his appointment succeeded in obtaining a sufficient sum to pay off the Order's chief debts.

Meanwhile, the Templars had been finally crushed (Council of Guienne, 1311). In the following year the Pope issued a command to the effect that all their property should pass to the Hospitallers. Edward II of England and Philip IV of France were each desirous of obtaining as large a share of the spoil as they could for themselves. But the word of the Pope prevailed, and despite the enormous sums spent by them on litigation, the Hospitallers, in this country at any rate, received a very substantial addition to their depleted finances. In 1324 an Act of Parliament was passed transferring the possessions of the Templars in England to the Knights of St. John. Many who had given lands to the former claimed them again on the extinction of the Order, but thanks to the labours of Deputy-Prior Leonard a fresh Act was passed ten years later to confirm the Act of 1324. Some of the estates were certainly never surrendered, but the Hospitallers gradually obtained their rights, and in recognition of his services Leonard de Tybertis was created full **Grand Prior of England.**

Only half a century after the fall of the Templars the church and hospital at Clerkenwell were burnt to the ground in the Peasants' Revolt. The political influence of the Order had been steadily increasing, and in 1381 Robert Hales, the Grand Prior of England, also held the position of Lord High Treasurer of the Realm. He was considered in this capacity to be responsible for the taxation to which the rebellion was largely due. Moreover, Thomas Farrington, the leader of the men of Essex, considered himself a personal enemy of Hales.

The men of Kent, led by Wat Tyler, marched to the

City from Blackheath, joining forces with the men of Essex, who had come by way of Aldgate, at the northern end of London Bridge. From here they marched westward and sacked the Temple and then proceeded to burn the Hospital of the Savoy. Having asserted their strength in these two outrages, they pushed their way to Smithfield to take vengeance on the hated Grand Prior at St. John's; in company with Simon de Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had already fled to the Tower, but the rebels were not to be deterred. They prosecuted their work with such vigour that within a few hours all the Priory buildings—church, hospital, Prior's lodging—'went up to heaven in flames.' Stow gives a picturesque description of the burning of the Priory, telling how 'the rebels of Essex and of Kent, 1381, set fire on this house, causing it to burn by the space of seven days together, not suffering any to quench it.'

The loss to the Order was tremendous. Nothing remained at Clerkenwell but a few charred and blackened walls. That in itself was disaster enough. But by the destruction of its headquarters this great organization which had been steadily developing for more than two hundred years was suddenly brought to the verge of ruin; two centuries of careful work were rendered worthless. The task of reconstruction was stupendous; the Knights had to go back to the starting point and build the Order afresh piece by piece. The reorganization of the English *langue* presented a far more difficult problem than the rebuilding of its headquarters, and the Hospitallers never quite regained the political influence which they had enjoyed in the past.

The new Priory buildings were completed in 1504. The Hospitallers had by this time practically recovered from the disaster of 1381, and when Henry VIII became

king, he immediately recognized that the wealth of the Order would be an invaluable asset to the Royal Treasury. In 1527 he proposed a separation between the English *langue* and the rest of the Order, intending to abolish the office of Grand Prior, and instal himself as Grand Master of the new organization. The Order would have nothing to do with the scheme; had they yielded, the Hospitallers might have been spared at the Dissolution.

Ten years later the King repeated his attempt to gain complete control of the Order. He introduced a plan with which the Knights could not be expected to comply, wishing them to transfer their allegiance from the Pope, as Sovereign Head of the Order, to himself, and to pay the revenue for the first year after their reconstitution into his own Treasury. Once more the knights refused. The dissolution of the monasteries had already started, and if Henry could not lay hands on the wealth of the Hospitallers by gaining control of their Order, he was quite prepared to lay hands on it by force. At the Suppression the Priory's income was valued at £3,386 per annum, and the House was thus one of the wealthiest in the country. Little wonder that the King had been so anxious to become the head of the Order!

'Sir William Weston being then lord prior,' says Stow, 'died on the same seventh of May on which the house was suppressed; so that great yearly pensions being granted to the Knights by the King, and namely to the lord prior during his life one thousand pounds, he never received a penny.' There is some doubt as to how many of the Hospitallers ever actually did receive 'great yearly pensions,' but the records of the Order prove that many of the wealthier knights lost their heads for refusing to recognize the extinction of the Order. Throughout the country their lands passed to the Crown. St. John's Wood, the most extensive of the Priory's properties in

the neighbourhood of London, was turned into a royal hunting ground, while the buildings at Clerkenwell were employed as a general 'store-house for the King's toils and tents, for hunting, and for wars, etc.'

Stow gives the following account of the Priory in the half-century following the Dissolution: 'This priory church and house of St. John was preserved from spoil or down-pulling, so long as King Henry VIII reigned; but in the 3rd of King Edward VI, the church, for the most part, to wit, the body and side aisles, with the great bell tower, was undermined and blown up with gunpowder; the stone thereof was employed in building the lord protector's house at the Strand. That part of the choir which remaineth, with some side chapels, was by Cardinal Pole, in the reign of Queen Mary, closed up at the west end, and otherwise repaired; and Sir Thomas Tresham, knight, was then made lord prior there, with restitution of some lands, but the same was again suppressed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.' The 'lord protector's house' refers to the first Somerset House, which stood until the present buildings were erected to the designs of Sir William Chambers in 1776.

Five years after the Dissolution, Henry VIII granted to John Dudley, Lord High Admiral of the Realm, 'the site, circuit, and precinct of this Hospital or Priory of St. John of Jerusalem; only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, iron and other things of the church were specially reserved to the King's Majesty.' On the accession of Queen Mary in 1553 the Order was revived, and the buildings at Clerkenwell became the centre of great ceremonies once more. There is an interesting entry for the year 1555 in 'The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor': 'The xxix day of August, which was the day of Decolacyon of sant John Baptyst, the Marchand-tayllers kept masse at Sant Johnes be-yond

Smyt-feld, and my lord of Sant Johnes dyd offer at masse and ser Hare Hubylthorne, ser Thomas Whytt and master Harper, althermen, and all the clothyng, and after the iiij wardens of the yeomanry, and all the compene of the tayllers, a 1d a pesse; and the qwyre honge with cloth of arres, and after masse to the Tayllers' halle to dener.'

'Ser Hare Hubylthorne,' or Sir Henry Hubbathorne, was Sheriff of London in 1542 and Lord Mayor in 1546-7. 'Sir Thomas Whytt' refers to our great benefactor, Sir Thomas White. He was one of the strongest supporters of Queen Mary, early in whose reign the Order of the Hospital was restored, and it would not be altogether fanciful to assume that when the Merchant Taylors observed their accustomed celebrations on August 29, Sir Thomas may have influenced their choice of the Priory Church of St. John Baptist, Clerkenwell, seeing that it was the only church of that dedication in the neighbourhood of the City. For the greater part of his life he had been closely connected with the 'Guild of St. John Baptist of tailors or linen armourers,' and it was to the patron saint of his craft that he dedicated his foundation at Oxford. 'Master Harper,' afterwards Sir William Harper, was born at Bedford, 1496. A prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, he became Sheriff of the City of London in 1556 and Lord Mayor in 1561. He founded Bedford School in 1552, and was associated with Sir Thomas White in the foundation of Merchant Taylors'.

After many changes of ownership, the choir passed in 1630, to the Earl of Aylesbury, grandson of the great Lord Burghley. It became the Earl's private chapel, the Priory buildings being converted into his London residence. The Aylesbury family sold the estate in 1706, and the chapel became a dissenters' meeting-



ST. ETHELDREDA'S—THE WEST WINDOW

house. Finally, on December 27, 1723, it was consecrated as the parish church of St. John, Clerkenwell, having been acquired by Queen Anne's Commissioners for the building of fifty new churches. The church underwent a thorough restoration in 1845, and in 1894 the Knights of the Order restored the crypt. Since then the crypt has been used as the private chapel of the Order, and a special service, to which the Knights walk in procession from St. John's Gate, is held there each June.

The first church to be erected on the site was completed about the year 1150. It consisted of a round nave, similar to the nave of the Temple Church, and a short apsidal chancel resembling the choir of the Hospitallers' Church of St. John Baptist, Little Maplestead. The churches of the two Orders were built in the form of a circle to commemorate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. St. John's and the Temple Church were consecrated on the same day, March 21, 1185, and from the similarity of an unearthed capital from the original 'Round' at Clerkenwell to the nave capitals of the Temple, it is not unlikely that the two buildings were the work of the same architect. The nave of St. John's was sixty-five feet in diameter; remains of the circular foundations may be seen outside the present entrance to the crypt at the west end of the church, and the position of the walls of the 'Round' is marked by a double circle of stones set in the pavement of St. John's Square.

The choir was of three bays and aisleless, being built above the central portion of the present crypt. By 1185 this accommodation proved to be inadequate. Consequently the first choir was pulled down, and a large aisled structure, better suited to the requirements of a growing organization, was raised in its place. At about the same date two chapels were built, one on either side of the crypt, and the central avenue was extended

eastwards by two bays. The two western bays are contemporary with the foundation of the church, and are as good a specimen of early transitional work as any in London; the two eastern bays are Early English and possess very fine ribbed vaulting, upon which there appear traces of original colouring. The walls of the central aisle of the crypt were not pierced to give access to the chapels built on either side of it. They are of great thickness, and were probably considered to be essential for the efficient support of the piers which carried the vaulted roof of the new choir. The small lancet windows which had originally served to give light from the outside now simply became slits in the walls dividing the centre from the two side-chapels. The crypt possesses what is probably the most extensive collection of mason's marks in London, and these are in an excellent state of preservation.

There is no evidence as to the existence of a porch at the west end of the nave, but the building at Clerkenwell probably followed the usual plan of the round church. Of the four of these still standing in England, three (the Temple Church, London, St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, and Little Maplestead Church) possess porches at the west end of the round nave. The church of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge, has no porch, but there is a good Norman west door. Foundations of a round church uncovered at Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire, indicate that this church also had a large porch at the west end.

A chapel was built while Joseph de Channey was Grand Prior (1274-1280), and Prior William de Henley erected a cloister between 1280 and 1284. Gradually the Priory buildings began to group themselves around the church, and when complete included the hospital, the Prior's lodging and the Sub-Prior's lodging, the great hall and the armoury, a dormitory for the Knights, a counting-

house, and a distillery. In this form the Priory remained until all was swept away in the rising of 1381.

The story of the destruction of the settlement in 1381 has already been told. The Knights determined that their new House should be even more magnificent than its predecessor. The work of restoration went steadily on all through the fifteenth century, and the buildings were not completed until thirty-seven years before the monastery was dissolved and the Order disbanded. The 'Round' was not rebuilt. Its place was taken by an aisled nave of six bays, ninety feet in length. At the north-west corner stood a great square bell-tower, described by Stow as 'A most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled, to the great beautifying of the city, and passing all other that I have seen.'

The new church was built entirely in the Perpendicular style. Not having been seriously affected by the fire, the lower part of the chancel walls was incorporated in the new building. At the same time the choir was extended on the south side; the two western bays of the south wall were pierced to give access to a new chapel, and the present south door of the church was used to connect the chancel with a new vestry. The restoration was not completed until after Sir Thomas Docwra became Grand Prior in 1501, and to him are due the three windows at the east end of the present church. The three windows above the south gallery also belong to this period. With the exception of a small panel in the south east window, containing the coat-of-arms of Robert Botyll, Grand Prior from 1439-1469, the stained glass all dates from 1914.

The domestic quarters of the monastery had to be entirely rebuilt. For the most part they lay to the north-east of the church, and are shown in a view of the Priory engraved by Hollar in 1661. The great southern entrance

to the precinct, better known under the familiar title of 'St. John's Gate,' was finished in 1504, marking the completion of Docwra's work.

Had not Protector Somerset destroyed the nave and bell-tower to provide materials for his mansion in the Strand, Docwra's church, having received a royal exemption from Henry VIII after the extinction of the Order, might still be standing to-day. After serving for nearly a century as the Earl of Aylesbury's private residence, in 1706 the greater part of the monastic buildings followed the nave to destruction. In 1721 the choir was purchased by Simon Michell, and when St. John's was opened as a parish church in 1723 it had been brought up to date by being thoroughly classicised under his direction. The interior was decorated with a coat of stucco of the kind which eighteenth-century architects alone knew how to produce, and galleries were inserted; the west front was rebuilt in brick ('tastefully' covered with stucco at a later date, which has since, happily, been removed); the sloping battlements shown in Hollar's view of the east end of the church were replaced with a flat stone coping, and the upper half of the east wall was restored in brick. Plain round columns were substituted for the Gothic piers, and a flat plaster ceiling took the place of the old vaulted roof. The small lead turret at the west end of the church was added in 1813, the clock coming from the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

To use the words of Mr. Griffith, who restored the church in 1845, 'All real interest to the architect and antiquary ceased the moment Michell put his classic extinguisher on the Gothic edifice.' But to give the unfortunate Michell his due, it must be remembered that he might have carried out a far more sweeping restoration than he did, and if he had not remodelled

the choir and sold it to Queen Anne's Commissioners at a time when there was a demand for new churches, it is very doubtful whether anything more of the great Priory would be standing to-day than the gateway which led to it. Nor is the classical church wholly devoid of interest, for the combination of the classical with the Gothic is in itself uncommon. There are still 'sermons in stones' even though they be stuccoed stones.

St. John's Gate is one of a numerous class of buildings which, on the strength of being described in guide books as 'drastically restored,' are considered to be of little note. On the contrary it is, with the possible exception of the Curfew Gate of Barking Abbey, the only monastic gateway left to us in the neighbourhood of London. It is a good piece of Perpendicular work, and cannot be said to have suffered at the hands of the restorer. It has on the whole been wisely repaired, and the ribbed vaulting of the arch spanning St. John's Lane is in an excellent state of preservation.

The gate has served a variety of uses. As far back as 1771 the sum of £62 was paid for the removal of a billiard room which had for many years blocked the upper part of the archway. In 1813 a part of the gate was converted into a watch-house. By 1845 the building was in a ruinous condition, and being condemned as a dangerous structure, was only saved from demolition by a public subscription. A careful restoration was carried out in the two following years, but until 1866 the gate still continued to be used as a public house. Now, after an absence of more than three hundred years, the English branch of the Order has returned to its old headquarters once more, and St. John's Gate has become famous as the centre of an organization for the relief of suffering whose work is known and valued in every quarter of the world.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHAPEL OF ST. ETHELDREDA

THE Chapel of St. Etheldreda can claim no connection with the School except that of propinquity. In a straight line it is only a little over five hundred yards from Charterhouse Square situated on the west side to Ely Place, a quiet but now very commercial backwater, on the slope that rises from the former valley of the Fleet to High Holborn. The Chapel looks curiously isolated, almost incongruous, in its present surroundings, but the names of neighbouring streets and alleys, such as Hatton Garden and Mitre Court, give silent testimony to the former extent of the town house of the Bishops of Ely. Most bishops had their palaces near London where they could reside when they came to Parliament and several of their palaces were in this neighbourhood: the Bishop of Bangor lived in Shoe Lane and the Bishop of Lincoln in the village of Holborn. The interest of the present building lies partly in the associations which attach to it and the palace of which it formed a part, partly in the value it has as a specimen hard to equal in its kind of thirteenth-century architecture. London still possesses not a few private chapels built in the Middle Ages, the Savoy Chapel, for example, or the crypt of St. Stephen's, Westminster, but none so beautiful as that which was once the private chapel of the Bishops of Ely.

Of the saint to whom the Chapel is dedicated little is known; but she has a sufficient memorial in the great

cathedral of the Fens. Her story is told by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

‘King Egfrid took to wife Etheldreda, the daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles of whom mention has often been made; a man very religious and in all respects renowned for his inward disposition and actions. She had before been given in marriage to another, even to Tonbert, chief of the Southern Girvii, a tribe living in the East Midlands, but he had died soon after he had received her, and she was given to the aforesaid king. She had long requested the king that he would permit her to lay aside worldly cares and to serve only the true King Christ in a monastery: and having at length with difficulty prevailed she went as a nun into the monastery of the Abbess Edda but a year after she was herself made abbess in the country called Ely where, having built a monastery, she began by words and examples, to be the mother of very many virgins dedicated to God. It is reported of her that from the time of her entering into the monastery she never wore any linen but only woollen garments and would rarely wash in a hot bath unless just before any of the great festivals, as Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Epiphany, and then she did it last of all, after having, with the assistance of those about her, first washed the other servants of God there present: besides, she did seldom eat above once a day, excepting on the great solemnities or some other urgent occasion unless some considerable distemper obliged her. From the time of Matins she continued in the church at prayer till it was day; some also say that by the spirit of prophesy she in the presence of all, not only foretold the pestilence of which she was to die, but also the number of those which should then be snatched out of her monastery. She was taken by our Lord in the midst of her flock seven years after she had been made abbess, and, as she had ordered was buried among them, in such a manner as she had died, in a wooden coffin.’

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives 673 as the year in which she began her monastery and 679 as the year of her death. Bede gives a curious account of the translation of the saint’s body to the church. Her sister had decided to bring her to the church she founded and ‘accordingly she ordered some of the brothers to provide a stone to make a coffin of; they accordingly went in a

ship, because the country of Ely is on every side encompassed with the sea or marshes and has no large stones, and came to a small abandoned city not far from thence, which in the language of the English is called Grantchester and presently near the city walls they found a white marble coffin most beautifully wrought and neatly covered with a lid of the same sort of stone. Concluding, therefore, that God had prospered their journey, they returned thanks to Him and carried it to the monastery. Her body, when the grave was opened, being brought into sight, was found free from corruption, as if she had died and been buried on that very day. It happened also that by the power of the linen clothes, devils were expelled from bodies possessed; and the coffin she was first buried in is reported to have cured some of distemper in the eyes who, praying with their heads towards that coffin, presently were delivered from the pain or distress in their eyes.' Such is Bede's account of the patroness of Ely.

The history of the present Chapel begins with a bequest made by John de Kirkeby, who was consecrated Bishop of Ely in 1286; in his will he left to his successors in the see 'a messuage and nine cottages in the parish of St. Andrew' (Holborn). It seemed to be necessary for an enquiry to be held before the sheriffs of London to decide whether it was for the loss or prejudice of the King that Kirkeby's successor Robert should possess the land; happily it was decided that there was no such danger and Ely Palace appears in history, though in rather a modest way, for the documents recording the sheriff's decision also inform us that the annual value of the ground was 72s. 11d. The next Bishop, William de Ludd, endowed the see with property adjoining the de Kirkeby land on the condition that his successor should provide 1,000 marks for the support of three chaplains—

this is of importance as it gives an approximate date for the building of the Chapel. A later bishop John de Hotham who died in 1336 and who left a considerable amount of property to the convent and prior of Ely, must also have added to the existing buildings, for Camden, the antiquary, remarks in his *Britannia* that the palace is 'a residence worthy of Bishops of Ely for which they are indebted to John Hotham, bishop under Edward III.' The extent of the work undertaken under the auspices of Thomas Arundel, who was consecrated Bishop in 1373, is uncertain; according to one account he is credited with having rebuilt his predecessors' work, and Murray, who wrote a short monograph on the Chapel in the first half of last century, attributes the Chapel itself to him, but architectural considerations render this impossible. It is quite likely that he refashioned the house, and certain that he started the front of the palace towards Holborn, of which not a stone now remains, as Stow, the Elizabethan historian of London, saw his arms upon it. But whatever the extent of the work undertaken by Arundel, there is little doubt that before very long the palace had attained considerable dimensions; John of Gaunt resided there after an angry mob had burnt his own palace of the Savoy, and it is there that Shakespeare, in *Richard II*, represents him as speaking his famous eulogy of England shortly before his death.

All the great houses near London had extensive gardens and Ely Palace was no exception to the rule; many indeed to whom the present Chapel of Saint Etheldreda is not even a name, know of the famous strawberries of Ely Place, which if we may trust Shakespeare, provided Richard III with a useful 'aside' during a critical meeting in the Tower. Holingshed's version of the story which Shakespeare adopted is not so well known and more attractive. 'After a little talking with them he, Richard

Duke of Gloucester said unto the Bishop of Ely "My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden of Holborne; I require you let us have a mess of them." "Gladly my lord," quoth he, "Would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that."

Whether it was due to the quality of the strawberries or not, history does not record, but at any rate the Bishop was arrested the same morning.

The decline in the fortunes of the palace may be dated from the reign of Elizabeth. Early in her reign an act was passed enabling her to appropriate Church lands and providing rather an inadequate compensation. Parker, then Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and Cox, the Bishop-elect of Ely, tried in vain to persuade the Queen to accept the sum of 1,000 marks a year; Elizabeth refused to yield and this act was the excuse, though not the immediate cause, for the appropriation of Ely palace. The Queen's attention had been caught by the dancing of Christopher Hatton at a mask given by one of the Inns of Court and his subsequent rise to favour and power at Court excited surprise even then. Perhaps his appointment to the office of Vice-Chamberlain would not have been grumbled at, but exceptional skill at dancing scarcely seemed to his contemporaries to be a sufficient qualification for the post of Lord Chancellor. The 'dancing Chancellor' is celebrated by Gray in his poem 'A Long Story':

'Full oft within the spacious walls
When he had fifty winters o'er him
My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawles;
The Seal, and Maces, dance before him.
His bushy beard and shoe strings green
His high-crowned hat and satin-doublet,
Mov'd the stout heart of England's Queen,
Tho' Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.'

Not content with the country house here alluded to, Hatton cast covetous eyes on Ely Palace. Bishop Cox put up a stubborn resistance, but at length was forced by the Queen to lease to Hatton the gate house front of the palace and the gardens; the rent was fixed at a red rose on Midsummer Day, ten loads of hay and ten pounds for the gardens. Roses at this time seemed to have supplanted strawberries in the Bishop's garden; it is not easy to visualize either growing now in the vicinity of Hatton Garden and Leather Lane. Sir Christopher Hatton spent £1,995 on improving the palace and then tried to persuade the Queen to alienate it from the see altogether. The Queen proposed that the Bishop should relinquish the property till the money spent by Hatton should be refunded. This proposal was too much for the Bishop's sorely tried temper. In a letter to the Queen he reminded her of that 'Rule of nature and of God, not to do that to another, which one would not have done to oneself,' and declared, 'He could scarcely justify the princes who transferred things intended for pious uses to purposes less pious.' Finally Cox had to convey the lands by mortgage to the Queen, and she put them in Hatton's hands but they remained redeemable. In 1550 Cox, who had often threatened to resign in the course of this long battle, retired; and the Queen, who seems to have had some respect for him, did not hesitate to treat his successor more roughly. Matthew Heton it appears, offered objection to the Queen's designs on Ely Palace; in reply he received a letter, sometimes given in a different form, to this effect: 'Proud prelate, you know what you was before I made you what you are now; if you do not immediately comply with my request, by God, I will unfrock you,—Elizabeth.' After this we hear of no more objections on the part of Heton.

There were reasonable hopes of a settlement when

Lancelot Andrewes, formerly of Merchant Taylors' School, became Bishop of Ely; but before he had raised a sum sufficient to pay off the mortgage, he was transferred to Winchester. His successor Matthew Wren, the uncle of the architect, succeeded in collecting the necessary sum, and Lady Hatton prepared to leave, but the Long Parliament, more on doctrinal than judicial grounds, decided in 1641 to restore Lady Hatton. The Bishop's chief offence seems to have been that he had a communion table raised altar-wise; at any rate, on the motion of Sir Thomas Widdington, a Bill with twenty-five charges against him was sent to the Lords. Sir Thomas's biblical knowledge at times seems to have run away with him; the unfortunate Wren was denounced in the Bill as 'a devouring serpent in the diocese'; he is not afraid to contrast the Bishop's conduct with that of the Almighty. 'In the creation of the world light was one of the first productions. The first visible action of this Bishop was to put out many shining lights.' Again, here the good Sir Thomas gets his biblical similitudes badly mixed—'This Noah, if I may so call him without offence, sends, nay forces, doves to fly out of the ark and he will not receive them into the ark again; he stands as a flaming sword to keep such out of his diocese.' Certainly, for a man with ritualist inclinations, a bishopric in East Anglia was no sinecure in the seventeenth century. Wren was adjudged by Parliament to be a person 'unfit and unworthy to hold or contain any spiritual promotion in office in the Church or Commonwealth.' He was committed to the Tower where he remained till 1660 and during his imprisonment a large part of the palace was pulled down; beyond the hall and chapel little was left standing. Under the Parliament it was used as a prison and later on under Cromwell as a hospital for soldiers and sailors. Tenements were erected on the

site of the garden; it is to this that the antiquary Maitland (1693-1757) alludes: 'of which buildings Vast Improvements have been made,' and the modern street of Hatton Garden was laid out.

Bishop Simon Patrick, who held the see of Ely under Charles II, decided, on the advice of a judicial committee to compound the quarrel with the Crown for £1,000 a year. Little of note is recorded of the Chapel in this period, but the buildings seem to have been steadily going from bad to worse. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Bishops scarcely seem to have been masters of the property. There is a note in a Harkian MS. in the British Museum to the effect that 'even half of the vault or burying place under the chapel is made use of as a public cellar (or was so very lately) there having been revellings frequently heard there during divine service.' During this period Ely House was the scene of the trial of Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, before the Bishop of Ely, the Visitor of the College; he had been installed at Trinity in 1700 and by a succession of petty tyrannies and a somewhat dubious scheme for re-distributing, to the Master's advantage, the divisible income of the College, goaded the Fellows into taking action against him before their Visitor. He was twice tried in Ely House, once in 1714 and again in 1733 when he was sentenced to be deprived of his Mastership—a sentence not carried out. Cowper in the sixth book of *The Task* narrates an amusing incident that occurred in the Chapel during the 'Forty-Five rebellion':

'So in the chapel of old Ely House,
When wandering Charles, who meant to be the third
Had fled from William, and the news was fresh,
The simple clerk, but loyal, did announce,
And eke did rear right merrily two staves
Sung to the praise and glory of—King George.'

In 1772, under Dr. Keene, the see of Ely finally transferred the property to the Crown for the sum of £6,500, and the episcopal abode was removed to Dover Street, Piccadilly. The estate was leased by a Mr. Cole who erected houses on the site, while the Chapel was kept to serve the religious needs of the inhabitants. It was opened for divine service in 1786 after being 'thoroughly repaired and beautified' by Cole; but Cole's scheme was not a success and the Chapel was rented to a Mrs. Faulkner. After passing through a period of neglect, it fell first into the hands of a Nonconformist sect, who 'beautified' it in their peculiar way and later into the care of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, but it appears that the poor were not eager to be educated, for it was put up for auction and purchased in 1879 by the Roman Catholic Order of Charity. It has now regained something of its former beauty and remains the one mediaeval church in London still in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church.

Though the ravages of Parliamentarians, speculative builders and Protestant sects have deprived us of much of the glory of Ely Palace, yet the little that remains is a worthy representative of the past. It is true that the first sight of it from Ely Place is not very prepossessing, partly because so much refacing has been necessary that the new stone jars with what is left of the old and partly because the Chapel is now so shut in on every side except the east that any comprehensive view of it as a whole is impossible and the beauty to its external properties is completely lost. Passing up a passage along the south side of the chapel we climb a few steps and enter from the south-east corner by a deeply recessed doorway of three arches supported on shafted jambs which with their capitals and bases are of modern workmanship. The

play of light and shadow produced by the heavily cut mouldings of the arch is peculiarly attractive and typical of the best work of the period, it is irrelevant whether we describe it as Late Early English or Early Decorated. On entering the Chapel the harmony of its proportions is at once evident. It measures eighty and a half feet by thirty feet and, for an English building, is high in proportion to its length and width. The general effect is one of unity of plan and workmanship, combined with a delicacy of detail that is not common in London's mediaeval churches. The Chapel has not all the light it needs and the architect planned for it, because neighbouring buildings press so close upon the windows; the rood, too, partly obscures the design of the great east window. On either side there are five windows though the easternmost on both north and south have been blocked; all are similar, each having two lights crowned with a trefoil; between each pair of windows is wall-arcading whose delicate mouldings show to good effect. At the north-west corner is a blocked doorway with an arch curiously depressed for the period and surmounted with some blind tracery of two lights topped with a quatrefoil. The chief glory of the Chapel lies in the two great windows at the east and west ends. The east window is of five lights with intersecting tracery that must have sorely tried the mediaeval glazier; its more intricate design shows an advance, if it is possible to discriminate in date between the two, on the west window which, though similar in detail, has tracery of a more strictly geometrical plan. These two windows show English tracery design at its height, after it is freed from the trammels of the experimental period of simple trefoils and quatrefoils and before it degenerated into the the extravagant *abandon* of the decorated period and the consequent mechanical severity of the Perpendicular

reaction. The chequered history of the Chapel has left it with but few fittings or extraneous ornaments; in the south porch are the royal arms of the late Stuart period, a symbol of the royal supremacy which, till fifty years ago, prevailed in the Chapel; in the crypt is preserved a capital with richly carved foliage, reminiscent somewhat of the capitals in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, but which the latest authority dates at A.D. 1300. The remains of the *Sedilia* are interesting as finally disproving the theory advanced some forty-five years ago that the present building was originally the hall of the palace and that the Chapel proper was rebuilt by Arundel and destroyed in the eighteenth century. The present stained glass is neither better nor worse than most of the work of the period.

The undercroft or crypt is entered by a small door in the outside passage below the steps leading to the chapel porch; it provides the chief, in fact the only, archæological puzzle of the building. Slightly smaller than the upper chapel, seventy-eight and a half feet by twenty-five and a half feet, it has down the centre a row of modern stone columns which take the place of the original wooden ones which had to be removed when the floor level was lowered. These were of Spanish chestnut and dated from the time of William de Luda—the roof still remains and is of the same material, which is said to have special powers of defence against the terrible beetle*. On the south side are two small windows and a doorway which have undergone considerable repair, but the thirteenth-century splays remain. The windows on the north side, except for a thirteenth-century one, now blocked, at the north-east corner, are not as old as those in the south. The lowering of the floor level proved beyond dispute

*For this account of the crypt and the ensuing theory I am indebted to the kindness of the priest-in-charge, the Rev. Bernard Roe, O.C.

that there are two distinct stages in the wall. Above a line roughly three feet from the ground we have thirteenth-century work or at any rate thirteenth-century casing; below that level, the work is altogether of a different order. The material is a kind of concrete with a generous admixture of chalk, a material very rarely used, and both above and below the three foot line there are curious thin red tiles, that are certainly not Roman and cannot be certainly identified as British. It may be added that this wall extends to a considerable depth beneath the present floor level and that the whole is exceptionally thick. This suggests that there was some building on the site before William de Luda built his chapel and the orientation indicates that it was an ecclesiastical one. Various finds have been made on the site, including some bricks and two glass vials (possibly Roman) and some nails; but in themselves they are not sufficient evidence of occupation, as such finds are far from infrequent just outside a city such as Londinium was. But there are other grounds for supporting the theory that the present Church marks the site of a much older building; first the absence of old windows on the north side (it was the side from which the devil always approached and so it would scarcely be prudent to invite him by building a window) and the unusual division of the crypt into two parts looks as though some previous design may have been followed. Secondly there is the size of the Chapel itself, which is of unusual dimensions for the private Chapel of a Bishop, especially as it was only his town residence and not his diocesan palace; and again, even to-day, it is clear that the Chapel is built well above the street level and the street level in the thirteenth century was considerably lower than it is to-day. Why should the Bishop of Ely build a chapel of such a size and elevation, unless he found there an older and sub-

stantial building (possibly ecclesiastical) which would provide him with a firm foundation? Again there is nothing, outside this theory, to explain what the Bishop wanted with so large a crypt, or rather lower chapel, as there is no evidence of it having been built for any special purpose. It is conceivable that when the site came into the possession of the see of Ely, the Chapel was not built immediately but some pre-existing building was used for religious purposes and later incorporated in the Chapel proper. At any rate it is an interesting problem and one which may well be solved soon by some fortunate 'find.'

The Chapel of St. Etheldreda has been compared by admirers, for beauty of design and proportions, with the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; and though the comparison may be extravagant, there is some truth in it. It stands very high among London's ecclesiastical buildings, though it has lost much in the wear and tear of centuries; happily its future is now assured and the Church which was responsible for its foundation, may be trusted not to neglect the duties of its preservation.

